268

Directorate of Distance Education

G A N D H I A N T H O U G H T

M.A., SECOND YEAR

PAPER - VIII

A GANDHIAN FUTUROLOGY

MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY
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M.A., (Second Year)
Gandian Thought

Paper - VIII
A Gandhian Futurology

Welcome Note

Dear Students,

Vanakkam/Namaste//Greetings,

Erich Fromm in his masterly work *To Be or To have* writes: "The Great Promise of Unlimited Progress-the promise of domination of nature, of material abundance, of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and of unimpeded personal freedom-has sustained the hopes and faith of the generations since the beginning of the industrial age". Everywhere the industrial 'mania' spreads like wild fire and the process is in progress with increased acceleration. The industrialization itself is growing to new dimensions day after day, This is the Modern Age. But as pointed out by Dr.Erich Fromm the Industrial Age has indeed failed to fulfil the Great Promise and ever growing numbers of people are becoming aware that.

* Unrestricted satisfaction of all desires is not conducive to well-being, nor is it the way to happiness or even to maximum pleasure.
* The dream of being independent masters of our lives ended when we began awakening to the fact that we have all become cogs in the bureaucratic machine, with our thoughts, feelings, and tastes manipulated by government and industry and the mass communication that they control.
* Economic progress has remained restricted to the rich nations, and the gap between rich and poor nations has ever widened,
* Technical progress itself has created ecological danger and the dangers of nuclear war, either or both of which may put an end to all civilization and possibly to all life.

* * * * * * * *

Bertrand Russell wrote during his last days (1967) thus: "It is likely that I shall die before the issue is decided. I do not know whether my last words should be:

'The bright day is done
And we are for the dark'

or, as I sometime allow myself to hope

'The world's great age begins new
The golden years return .....
Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires glean,
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream'.

I have done what I could do to add my small weight in an attempt to tip the balance on the side of hope, but it has been a puny effort against vast forces.

May others succeed where my generation failed".

* * * * * * * *

When he came to Oslo to accept the Nobel Prize for Peace (1952), Albert Schweitzer challenged the World "to dare to face the situation .... Man has become a superman ,,,. But the superman with the superhuman power has not risen to the level of superhuman reason,. To the degree to which his power grows he becomes more and more a poor man .... It must shake up our conscience that we become all the more inhuman the more we grow into superman."

"Technologically, man has advanced incredibly, yet he remains as he has been for thousands of years, fighting, greedy, envious burdened with great sorrow".

* * * * * * * *

Ervin Laszlo writes thus, "All societies in the world today are in a process of transformation. Technologies and institutions, as well as values, beliefs, and goals are changing. In industrialized societies optimistic belief in the automatic continuation of rapid economic growth has waned and its benefits are questioned. In communist countries confidence in the rapid achievement of world communism has been replaced by a more pragmatic interest in management of present structures and movements. The developing world is questioning the desirability of following traditional western or communist strategies of development, and in the least developed and resource - poor countries belief in adequate and speedy development itself has given way to desperate efforts to ensure day-to-day survival.

These transformations are signs of deep-seated trends and tensions that pose major threats to the future of human community. The countries of the industrialized world represent but 30 percent of the world's population, and will represent more than 10 percent in the next century. They will not be able to continue their economic growth and the prodigious rate at which they use up the world's natural resources, while the great majority of the international community is forced towards a subsistence level of existence and suffers from malnutrition, unemployment, and disease. Moreover the resource of poor developing countries will not be able to attain anything like parity with the material standard of living of the industrialized world unless the international economic order is reshaped, technologies are made more appropriate, and the governments and people of the affluent nations voluntarily change their attitudes. Even the resource rich developing countries will find it impossible to achieve sufficient growth in their industry; and agriculture and institutions to render them competitive with the developed nations before their present sources of wealth are depleted.

While the aspirations and dreams of nations and peoples falter and change, their interdependence increases. Networks to trade crisis cross the globe. Multinational corporations and international organizations exert increasing influence on the economic and political processes of nation states. Exponential increases in strategic nuclear weapons and capabilities and in sophisticated conventional arms threaten peace and life itself. Nonrenewable natural resources flow from the poor to the rich parts of the world and return only in small part as expensive industrial agricultural and consumer imports".

Kindly read again and again the above passages. Try to understand the central problems of our age. Mahatma Gandhi, Father of our nation, was aware of these problems several decades ago and tried to evolve alternatives. Around J. Toynbee calls him the possible "saviour of human race". But unfortunately we failed to grasp the full meaning of Gandhi. This condition has not changed

considerably even to-day. Here our task is to interpret Gandhi in the light of world developments and show how his thought emerge as an alternative to the present crisis. For doing this we have to understand the modern world with all its complexities and interpret Gandhi in a most creative manner. This means we have to free Gandhi from his orthodox disciples and careless and narrow minded critics. This paper, **A Gandhian Futurology**, will be a challenging and fascinating journey into our modern world with a new vision, hope and striving. Being human means being aware of the crisis and trying to solve it and then moving forward. External vigilance is the very price of existence. We are glad to welcome you to join us in this journey and let us add in our humble way to the forces of life on our planet. We should not fail in our venture for it would not be a mere failure of ours but a total and rather final Failure of human life on this planet, H.G Wells wrote in 1942 amidst the war that the very act of smiling is barbarious. This is all the more true today. We have to take things seriously and should not waste even a second when the encircling gloom threatens us. But we should not be pessimistic or cynical and that is ungandhian. In the course of evolution, we have acquired consciousness and knowledge. This has been transmitted across generations. Today we gave the aid of Science and Technology to store our knowledge to transmit it and to develop it with greater speed. We, today, realize, that we partly make or shape our future. The past and the present will determine the future to a considerable extend. Instead of depending on numerology, astrology, palmistry and other similar, "supernatural" methods, we can project the future possibilities using concrete data in a scientific manner. This is the base of a "Futurology", the future may be partly projected/predicted using scientific data. Thus this is different from astrology, etc.

The development of "Futurology" as a new scientific discipline adds to the human effort to control damage and to improve the performance and efficiency.

Mahatma Gandhi was a visionary and he was marching ahead with an agenda which is futuristic in its essence though rooted in the past and with concrete action in the present historical context. In this paper we deal with the major problems facing humanity today and which may loom large in the near future. We look at these problems from a Gandhian perspective - Mahatma Gandhi's vision and action - and try to creatively. Interpret to the rapidly changing context. Thus we try to take Gandhi to the XXIst century and in the process try to bring light to the encircling gloom.

We welcome you to our journey so that when we part in the end we will have better visions, inspirations, strategies and energy and will for actions.

Now this paper has been changed with the new name "A Gandhian Futurology". We have used some of the old material but has added new items. We thank Prof. Byran Teixeira Ph.D., for his inspiration. The revision work has been done by Dr.S.Jeyapragasam Prof and Head, Dept. of Gandhian Studies and Ramalinga Philosophy, Madurai Kamaraj University, and assisted in proof reading by Mr. K.Gurunathan and Dr.S. Jeyaraj.

STAFF,
DEPT. OF GANDHIAN STUDIES.

PAPER - VIII – A GANDHIAN FUTUROLOGY

1. Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi in a changing world - Elements of Universality in Gandhi-Gandhism as a growing vision.

2. The sexual morality and Gandhi - The contemporary realities - The future possibilities - The problem of alienation, dehumanization ad automation - The crisis in Human Relationship - Building up human relationships and communities.

3. The contemporary ethical crisis - Mahatma Gandhi's vision of ethical religion and ethics as the central focus - Ethics: Absolute and Relative - Towards a New Global Ethic.

4. The Disaster forecasting, prevention, intervention and rehabilitation - The Gandhian Experience - ways to effective Disaster management.

5. Ethnic and religious conflicts - clash of civilizations - Religious pluralism - celebrating differences - Gandhi's vision and practice - Building Bridges and overcoming hurdles.

6. Globalisation: a curse or a blessing? - Gandhi's vision of swadeshi and unity of humankind - "Think globally and Act locally" - "Jai hind and Jai jegat - Welfare of all and welfare of the last (Sarvodaya and antyodaya) as an existential need today for the peace, security and prosperity.

7. Liberation of the oppressed, marginalized and weaker sections - Empowering women and dalits - Emerging New Women as a powerful resource for life and prosperity for all.

8. Non violent child upbringing - overcoming, child labour and abuse and oppression of children - Nourishing the creativities of a child - Ensuring Quality education - preventing child soldiers.

9. Healing the wounds of individuals and civilizations - developing and using effective therapies - reforming the Institutions, parties, security systems (police, military and prison systems) government, judiciary, etc. - Gandhi's insights and adopting it to our times.

10. Field work/visit and Application: Assess the defects in a political party / family system / school ... and show how improvements may be made - prepare a new ethical code for your Institution / village/ locality / city - learn some disaster intervention skills such as First Aid, Fire fighting etc.

Recommended Books

Bryan Teixeria : A Gandhian Futurology

J.D.Sethi : Gandhi Today

Johan Galtung : The way to the goal

Kenneth Boullding : Three faces of power

Walden Bellow : Visions of a warless world

Paulo Fireire : The pedagogy of the oppressed

Ivan Ilich : Deschooling Society

Guy de Mallac : Seven steps to Global change

Paul F.Power : Gandhi on world Affairs

R.P. Misra and S.P.Gangal (ed) : Gandhi and the contemporary world

Scheme of Lessons

		Page No.
Lessons 1 & 2:	Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi in a changing world - Elements of universality in Gandhi - Gandhism as a growing vision.	7
Lessons 3 to 5:	The Sexual Morality and Gandhi - The contemporary Realities - The Future possibilities - The problem of Alienation, dehumanization and automation - The crisis in human relationship - Building up human relationships and communities.	28
Lessons 6 to 8:	The contemporary ethical crisis - Mahatma Gandhi's vision of ethical religion and ethics as the central focus - Ethics: Absolute and Relative - Towards a Global Ethic.	49
Lessons 9 &10:	Disaster forecasting, prevention, intervention and rehabilitation - The Gandhian experience - ways to effective disaster management.	134
Lessons 11 &12:	Ethnic and religious conflicts - clash of civilizations - religious pluralism - celebrating differences - Gandhi's vision and practice - building bridges and overcoming hurdles.	137
Lessons 13 to 18:	Globalisation a curse or a blessing? - Gandhi's vision of swadeshi and unity of humankind - "Think globally and act locally" - "Jai hind and Jai jegat" - welfare of all and welfare of the last first - (sarvodaya and antyodaya) as an existential need today for peace, security and prosperity - Liberation of the oppressed, marginalize and weaker sections - Empowering women and dalits - Emerging new women as a powerful resource for life and prosperity of all.	153
Lessons 19 to 25:	Non-violent child upbringing - overcoming child labour and abuse and oppression of children - Nourishing the creativities of a child - Ensuring quality education - Preventing child soldiers - Healing the wounds of individuals and civilizations - developing and using effective therapies-reforming institutions, political parties, security systems (police, military and prison systems), government, judiciary, etc. - Gandhi's insights and adopting it to our times - Guide lines to field work/visit and Application.	203

II M.A., GANDHIAN THOUGHT

Paper - VIII

A GANDHIAN FUTUROLOGY

Model Question Paper

Time: 3 Hrs. [Max. 100 marks]

Answer any five of the following

All questions carry equal marks.

1. Examine the contemporary relevance of Mahatma Gandhi.
2. Examine the Gandhian ethics and bring out its potentials for the future.
3. Discuss the Gandhian vision of human relationship and Sexual morality.
4. Trace the relevance of Gandhi's experience is disaster mitigation.
5. How a clash of civilizations may be averted?
6. "Globalisation is a blessing or disguise". Discuss.
7. How the oppressed and marginalized may be liberated?
8. How children may be trained in nonviolence?
9. Suggest ways to heal the wounds of India and the world.
10. Prepare a new ethical code for an individual or for a community.

LESSON 1 & 2

RELEVANCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI IN A CHANGING WORLD - ELEMENTS OF UNIVERSALITY IN GANDHI - GANDHISM AS A GROWING VISION

1. Analysis of the Modern World: Social, Economic and Political

When India was under foreign rule, to free it from the hold of British imperialism - the only unique way was peaceful and non-violent methods under the leadership of a man in whom the best of both the worlds - the dominating west and downtrodden east went to evolve and create a composite new thing the Gandhian ideology and programme of Sarvodaya and Satyagraha. This ideology is both a critical and a constructive reform of what the western civilization has achieved during its outgoing imperial or capitalistic age of the last two centuries.

We stand for a free and fully democratic order wherein human - the last unto us - is free not only in his relations with his fellow person, but also in his/her inner life and being.

All of us can increase the control that we have over our own lives and over the roles we play. We can become less dependent on others and more inter-dependent with them. We can become more aware of the social and political realities - the injustices and inequalities, around us. We can learn. We have potential to be realized and mobilized. We can grow in understanding. All of us can become more aware of our own attitudes, and more aware of the choices that we are making, consciously or unconsciously. Indeed, some people define development itself as the bringing to consciousness of the unconscious.

This calls for a new synthesis of all that the human world has achieved till now in knowledge, philosophy, religion, politics, economics, trade and industry etc. - in all the individual and corporate spheres of his peculiar growth and advancement as an anthropos living on this planet. This was Gandhiji's vision to be realized on earth and in this context only we have to analyze the relevance of Gandhiji's ideals in social, economic and political spheres.

Seven Great Dangers in the Modern world:

1) The combination of soil erosion, destruction of minerals from the soil on the one hand, and the ever-increasing overpopulation on the other-hand. This combination is now resulting only in world wide poverty.

2) Violence, in terms of wars, physical assault, economic, political, social and religious oppression.

3) Grossly unequal distribution of power between classes, castes, groups, individuals, city and village.

4) Over valuation of great size in organizations, especially in the realms, of politics, finance, industry and commerce.

5) Failure among leaders to realize that in every realm of activity the means chosen to reach a given end must be consistent with the end desired.

6) The idea, among leaders especially, the Governments or Corporations or other large organizations need not obey moral laws recognized as applicable to an individual.

7) The loss, among leaders and people - educated people, of faith in the existence and supreme power of spiritual unity.

These seven great dangers are all interrelated and go deep into the foundations and process of society. The first three have an international character, confronting every nation in varying degrees.

In realization of these dangers, every country has been adopting certain socio-economic and political systems to solve their problem. Let us now analyse first the various kind of such systems.

I. CAPITALISM

Capitalism is a social and economic system. It is widely experienced by many countries in varying strength and with various modifications. Its general characteristics are:

1) an emphasis on private property and competition.

2) Increasing technology and industrialism.

3) Ever increasing division and specialization of labour.

4) Ever increasing commerce.

5) Urbanization.

6) Money valuation and money control of most things and activities.

7) Reliance on the profit motive as the surest and best stimulus to action.

8) Extensive use of organized violence in the form of police, armies navies and air forces.

9) Systems of land distribution, land tenure, land taxation and money interest that strongly favour industry and commerce as against agriculture and favour the existing legal and social systems, and hence tend to promote poverty and insecurity among farmers and peasants and soil erosion and loss of soil fertility. Capitalism had its greatest growth in Europe, Great Britain, America and Japan.

The advantages of capitalism:

In capitalism the alliance of money, science and technology has transformed the world. In material short view terms, its success has been brilliant and highly impressive. Under it there has

been an immense accumulation of material wealth in some countries and in some sections of the population. The nations in which Capitalism has been most highly developed have greatly improved the nourishment, housing and clothing of the great majority of their people in both quality and quantity: they have markedly increased long evity and greatly reduced all communicable disease of their people; they have made literacy almost universal and higher education widespread.

The disadvantages of capitalism:

1. Destruction of Forests:

Although the destruction of forest is not an inherent and necessary result of capitalistic industrialism, as in proved by Sweden and Germany, in most industrialized, capitalistic countries such destruction has actually taken place and is continuing. In the instance of United States, the greed for immediate money profits of the great number of companies and sheep grazing groups prevents of the establishment and maintenance of proper care and sustained yield of the forests. It shows how unrestricted capitalistic industrialism destroys the forests and soils which insure a country's water and food. With new awareness, capitalist countries destroy the forests of poor countries.

2. Shortage and Pollution of water:

As a result of the industrialization the need for water to the industrial sector has greatly increased and it is being met at the cost of agriculture and household requirements. For example, to produce a ton of synthetic rubber takes three times that amount of water. Each ton of paper made in the modern pulp mills requires 50,000 to 60,000 gallons of water in the making. When it comes to the mills, a ton of cotton cloth requires 60,000 gallons of water in the bleaching and 80,000 gallons in the drying process. When 2/3 of the earth's children do not have clean safe water to drink, when half of the population in the third world countries do not have drinking water, the industrialized countries, even the developing countries, utilize the major part of the water sources for making commercial products disregarding the fact that agriculture needs tremendous quantities of water.

Pollution:

Streams are polluted and poisoned by city sewage by coal mining, oil-fields, food processing, paper pulp mills, steel plants, textile industries and chemical industries. This pollution kills all fish in the streams and makes the water unfit and dangerous for any domestic or agricultural use.

Big Cities:

Industrialism makes big cities. The bigger the city the more industries it contains, the greater is its daily per capital use of water. Even a city dweller consumes tremendously higher quantity of water than a villager. A North American family of four consumes about 660 liters of water per day, whereas an African of seven consumes 40 litres only. In towns, a toilet used 22 litres of water each time it is flushed.

Exploitation of Natural Resources:

Capitalist industrialism is consuming coal, petroleum and minerals of all kinds at a prodigious, profligate and increasing rate. After extracting the entire quantum of coal, now England is depending for fuel predominantly on oil from the Middle East. She has to import almost all the raw materials for her industry. Even the United States is a net importer of these important raw materials - crude petroleum, usable iron ore, magnesium, tungsten, copper, zinc, lead, bauxite, mercury, graphite, antimony, cobalt, manganese, asbestos, etc.

These figures not only show the insatiable appetite and reckless consumption of raw materials by the most highly industrialized nations, illustrating that tendency of Capitalism; but they also show that there is no limiting principle in Capitalism, no self restraint. The doctrine of an ever-expanding market is inherent in capitalism. Capitalistic industrialism is using up natural resources so fast that it can fairly be said to be parasitic upon the fortunes of our descendents and of the weaker nations and people, robbing them of the materials for a good life. The American high standard of living is mostly a high standard of wasting.

Probably capitalistic industrialism is destroying itself. It seems to be another instance of the Lord Aaton's dictum that power leads to corruption. The corruption in this instance seems to be the corruption of the imagination, foresight, judgement and self control.

Health Deterioration:

It is true that the industrialized countries have less infectious or communicable or parasitic diseases. The expectation of life at birth is higher in highly industrialized societies; but the group of so-called degenerative diseases such as cancer, heart diseases, diabetes and kidney disease is higher in the highly industrialized nations than elsewhere. The United States has a higher incidence of stomach ulcers than and other nation.

If you wonder how ill health can be blamed on to capitalistic industrialism, one answer is that the soil erosion and impoverishment and loss of soil minerals already discussed results in food crops which are lower in proteins, in minerals and in vitamins. Industrialism causes the soil losses and hence is partly responsible for the ill health of those who have to consume the inadequate food.

Another reason why industrialism is responsible for ill health is that urbanization, resulting from industry, separates the producer of foods from the consumer. People consume large quantities of tinned foods which are also low in vitamins and other essentials of health. Vegetables and fruits are sprayed by insecticides and fungicides, such as lead, sulphur, arsenic of DDT, which are poisonous to human beings as well as insecticides and fungi. Most of them can not be washed off, and some of them sink into the plant tissues. Excessive use of chemical fertilizer in another harmful factor.

Although half of the hospital beds in the United States are for cases of mental illness, there is no clear-cut evidence yet that industrialization increases the amount of mental disease in a given society. It seems quite likely that industrialism does cause such an increase, but it has not yet been clearly proved.

Corruption of Consumer:

In capitalistic industrialism so much money has been invested in machinery that, if possible people must be kept buying the products of the machines. As 'automation' increases, this pressure on consumers will greatly increase. The people are deluged with advertisements and sales - talk in Newspapers, Magazines, Roadside stands, Radio, Television and Cinema. There is tremendous amount of buying on installments, paying a little every month, thus mortgaging future income of the consumer. Sometimes the products are deliberately made poor in quality so that they will wear out soon and thus compel more purchasing. Periodically new products are introduced and there is no way to repair the old ones.

Boredom

Industrialism provided only a drab, and dull life for the millions of employees. Their lives are mechanized and standardized by the machines and mass merchandising. They are alienated from true values and from each other. To them, their lives are insignificant, they are bored and unhappy. Many take to alcohol or drugs or gambling to escape from their boredom.

Rapid Changes and Modernization:

In an industrial society the social order has ceased to be traditional or established, and instead it rests upon a capacity for rapid adaptiveness to changes. Changes in social processes are overtly caused chiefly by changes in the speed of transportation, communications and other technological changes. The ultimate cause is, of course changes in thinking and knowledge, but not until these become embodied by technology, do they alter society. These changes in transportation and communications are constantly accelerating and all social, economic and political processes are also changing faster and faster.

And now we have the development of electric calculators which are capable of rapidly solving exceedingly complicated mathematical problems and of exercising certain types of judgement and control. These have already displaced considerable numbers of not only manual but also clerical and "white collar" workers, making many mills, factories, oil refineries and chemical plants almost completely automatic. This "automation" requires very complete analysis and integration of every business that undertakes it and also requires a market that fluctuates very little and is constantly growing.

The social effects of it will probably be not so much permanent unemployment as a tremendous demand for much more highly educated and skilled employees to service such machines. This will increase the crisis in education in the United States. But automation will undoubtedly cause many other important and rapid changes. It may constitute a second industrial revolution.

As Sir Geoffrey Vickers said in a British Radio Broadcast:

"We are involved in an economic system in which multiplying words, multiplying wants, and multiplying populations endlessly excite one another.. The economic problem of mankind is not whether we continue to prosper but whether we can make the mutual relations of man and nature sufficiently stable to provide an acceptable basis for human life".

Militarism:

In all the capitalistic industrial countries along with violence there is still another trend (i.e.,) continuing preparation for further wars. These preparations are not constructive, but for the purposes of destruction, and with the modern H bombs the destruction would not be merely of one's enemies but of one's own nation and oneself and of the whole human race. It is now mass insanity and result would be mass suicide. The budget of the USA allots two-thirds of the entire governmental income for expenditures for war. Most of the countries of the west are consuming 66% of their incomes in this way. Thus, the income derived by exploiting the working class and natural resources ultimately spent for killing the human race. The governments constantly frighten their peoples about the dangers of possible war and say that military preparations are the only defence, so that the peoples, representatives in the legislature will vote these vast sums.

Suicidal character:

Capitalism makes money and power its god, and sacrifices everything for its attainment. It rests upon many relative assumption such as ....

- the idea that human progress consists of amassing material things,
- the idea that competition is the necessary and soundest relationship between human things:
- the idea that markets are indefinitely expansible:
- the idea that money is the ultimate valid measure of all values: and
- the manipulation of political and economic power is the highest human activity.

Capitalism, when young probably contributed to mankind much that was valuable. The science and technology used are great and enduring achievements of mankind. Inspite of these ultimate impacts of capitalism, it proved to be wrong as it has no principle of self-control or self-limitation.

Welfare of a few:

Though capitalism speaks about the welfare of the maximum number of people, in reality, it degenerates into the welfare of a few (nations in the worked and an upper class within a nation) and that too at the expenses of other's. It is profit oriented and has no concern for the future.

Let us now discuss about another system.

II. COMMUNISM

Communism was evolved in response to the realization of the evils done by Capitalism. It provides one with a feeling of understanding reality, what has happened is happening in the world, and ability to predict what will surely happen in the future.

Communism presents three ideas that are so full of meaning as to be exciting the idea that society is more important than the individual; that ends are more important than means and that environment is more important than ideas.

Socialism and communism came out of theory as worked out by Marx, Engles, Lenin and others.

Marx's theory rests upon two points:

1) his conception of the relation between mind and matter

2) what he calls dialectical materialims.

In regard to the first point, Marx and Engles stated their theory of perception, and on the basis of that theory of perception, they argued that primary reality is matter, and that mind is a by product or resultant of matter. This idea is known as philosophical materialism. From the idea that matter produced mind, he argued that man's tools and productive apparatus were the cause of all of man's other activities and that economic forces determined all historical events. Therefore, those who control the productive machinery, control everything else too.

Marx's Theory:

Marx's thought is called "dialectical materialism". It is "Materialism" in the sense that Marx believed that the basis of all life is matter. It does not mean "materialist" in the sense of greedy; it means "non-spiritual". Marx argued that our lives are shaped not by our own principles or aspirations but by solid, material, economic forces. The essential difference between man and animal is not that man is a thinker or has a soul, but that he produces the means of life, rather than simply taking what is around him, it is the form which this production takes, and the relationships into which man enters in order to produce which determine what man thinks and believes - and indeed his whole life.

Marx criticized religion on the grounds that it was indifferent to unjust conditions and ineffective in removing them. "Religion .... is the opium of the peoples", he said. Religion was useful to the few because it kept the workers "drugged" unaware of the true cause of their sufferings. It substituted the promise of a happy life after death for the experience of a just life now.

Mark's thought is also "dialectic". This is derived from an ancient Greek word meaning "debate" or "converse". It refers to the tension of "struggle between contradictions". This may be at the level of reasoning and debate between opposed views. The word is also used of the conflict or classes that Marx perceived in the development of human society.

Dialectical materialism claims to be a truly scientific interpretation of the world.

Marx also put forward a doctrine of "historical materialism". He identified six epochs in human history.

1) Primitive collective living in tribes

2) Monarchical states with masters owning slaves

3) Feudalism with nobles controlling serfs

4) Capitalism with owners employing workers

5) Socialism where the workers gain control

6) Communism where all economic domination has withered away.

Each of these epochs begins as an "efficient way of ordering things. In that the system of production is in close harmony with the social order. So, in the first epoch, collective living was appropriate for hunting and gathering methods of production. But throughout history, developments such as new inventions. Have altered the methods of production and put such a strain on old social system that out of the conflict or dialectic, revolution comes and a new epoch is born.

According to Marx, social change is due entirely to economic factors. It is generated by the conflict between the few owners of the means of production and the many workers. It is sudden, revolutionary and violent not evolutionary and gradual.

To end the exploitation:

Marx argued that, historically, social change had always been the result of the clash of two contrary forces. He discerned contrary forces in the social classes of his day; the few who owned the means of production and exploited the labour power of the many, and the many whose work provided wealth for the few. Marx predicted that this clash will develop as the workers unite against those who are exploiting them. The clash will get worse and worse until it will finally destroy the system. He predicted that the workers will become aware how they are being exploited, and will unite together to take over the means of production and place it in the control of everyone. Then a new system will emerge where:

a) What is produced will not be luxuries for the few, but will meet the needs of the many.

b) What the many produce will be more evenly, distributed among those who produce it.

c) The means of production (land, factories, machines, tools and raw materials) will be owned by those who work and produce.

d) People will consume only what they need.

e) Everybody will be employed, will have a share in decisions about what is produced and how, and will enjoy the proceeds from the work.

The impact of Marx's idea:

Marx's ideas have been very influential. They have inspired major revolutions in Russia and China. They have also been taken up in many countries in reforms to protect workers from exploitation, to share the results of production more widely and to distribute ownership of the means of production more widely. Other reforms which can be related to Marx's ideas have been laws to prohibit child labour and to protect workers in factories; the provision of medical care and education by the state; the redistribution of income through progressive taxes on high incomes, the provision of public services for everyone; and the state ownership of important industries such as energy generation, iron and steel, transport and banking. The key importance of economic dimension was realized and removal of poverty received higher priority.

Criticism on Marx:

1) A major criticism of Marx's theory is that his prediction (for example that there will be a violent change in the present system to bring justice) have not worked out in practice. If a theory makes predictions about the future which do not come about, then the theory must be at fault. A theory which has no outcome in practice is useless.

2) Another major criticism of Marxism is that it cannot explain why exploitation is wrong and "inhuman". Marx merely argue that the exploitative system will inevitably destroy itself in time. Until it does and it has not done so yet he gives no reasons in terms of right and wrong why you or I should not benefit from the system as much as we can, by being exploiters.

3) Marxism is unrealistic when it supposes that society will one day be perfect, that people will change from being greedy and self-seeking to being willing to work unselfishly for the good of everyone else.

4) It is also unrealistic to suppose that a process of change involving violence can result in order and harmony. In reality, a process of violence tends to unleash more violence. Violent communist revolutions ended up in blood thirsty regimes.

5) Marx describes the whole of life in material and economic terms and according to the way in which work is organised. But many other factors influence human life - love, hope, freedom, beauty, etc. Religion can be an important source of protest against injustice, and a support for human dignity and equality. If Marx is right about how exploitation works, we need more than Marxism to change it.

6) Some criticise Marxian becausc it is authoritarian and doctrinal. Marxian lays down the only way in which society can change, and insists that everyone must conform that. There is no space for the people to discover their own solutions to their problems, to develop their own potential, to formulate their own ideas and make their own decisions.

The way Marxism was implemented in Soviet Union and elsewhere strengthened the hands of the party leaders who turned to be the "exploiters" and opposed a vast majority with ruthless cruelty. Violence, violation of human rights, centralization, greed and narrow nationalism took upper hands.

Instead of solving the basic problems such as racialism and linguistic issues, they were "silenced". Marxian in operation tended to become unidimentional (materialism only) which was the essence of capitalism and inevitably the former collapsed, USSR attempted to build up stereo-typed Marxist parties in many countries using its money and military power. Communist dictatorial regimes in East Europe collapsed after 1988.

III. SOCIALISM

The theoretical distinction between Communism and Socialism is not clear cut. But are chiefly concerned with politics, economics and social process. They were worked out by the thinking of many Europeans, but the clearest and most thorough expression of the doctrine was first in the writing of Marx and Engles. In Russia the word 'Communism' and its adjectives are not used in the Constitutions of other official document except in the case of the communist Russia; it is the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Communism the Russians say, will exist only after a classless society has been achieved. Everything before that is Socialism.

But elsewhere the common notion is that Communists believe what violence must be used in a social revolution, and that deceit and treacher and further large-scale violence by the revolutionary government are not only permissible but inevitable and necessary. They regard the struggle for the attainment of a classless society as fully untiying the use of unlimited violence and deceit.

Socialists, on the other hand, believe that fundamental, social and economic changes can and should be made by peaceful persuasion and Socialists consider themselves bound to use truth in their statements and actions.

In Socialism man is the purpose of all social activity. The purpose of society is the service of man, and the furtherance of human development, not the glorification of nation, not increase in production.

"Man" means all men, women and children, all human beings. All are equal; male and female; black, white, brown and yellow; educated and uneducated; wise and stupid; strong and weak.

The acceptance of the equality of man as a basic assumption of life is the core and essence of socialism. A society is not socialist if, in its organisation of its practices, discriminates or allows discrimination between its members because of their percentage, their place of birth, their appearance of their religious beliefs. The existence of racialism, of tribalism or of religious intolerance means that a society is not fully socialist..... Socialist organization is the means by which the diversity of humankind is harnessed to the common benefit of all human. Socialism as a system is the organization of men's inequalities to serve their equality. A man-centred society would promote the dignity and the growth to excellence of all the human beings who are members of it.

Democracy is another essential characteristic of a socialist society. People's equality must be reflected in political organisation. Everyone must be an equal participant in the Government of his society. There must be some means by which people exert their will peacefully; and achieve changes

in the laws which govern them. They must be able to change the personnel in positions of authority within the normal working of the social system.

A Socialist society will consist of workers. Every member will contribute by his work to the total of wealth and welfare produced to the society, and he will receive a return in proportion to his efforts and his contribution to well-being of the community... Work is not only a duty to society, it is also a right of every human being, and anyone who is deprived of opportunity to do something useful for himself, his fellow citizens and his society needs and merits some compensation. The sick and the crippled need an opportunity to do whatever is within their power and also to receive whatever food, clothing and shelter they are unable to provide for themselves.

Society has a responsibility towards any person whom it deprives of an opportunity to earn his own living. Under Socialism there could not be a group of "permanently unemployed", but technological changes, and the economic flexibility which must exist in a developing country may mean that some individuals need support while they are receiving new training of especially in the case of Tanzania until the first harvest after they have returned to the land.

All who contribute to the society by their work are workers; the peasant working on his own land, the women looking after her small children and the family, the worker involved in physical labour, and the person who works in an office or carries managerial responsibilities. All contribute the total output of goods and services.

Social Values :

A Socialist society emphasis social values. In a feudal or aristocratic system, birth is a matter of the highest importance. If you are born of certain parents, you have social respect as well as economic advantages accorded to you as of right. In a Capitalist system, individual wealth is the most important single criterion for respect and the competitive spirit is acclaimed as a paramount social virtue in practice if not in theory. The social value of a socialist society will be very different from either of these. First, both the organization and the teaching will emphasise man's cooperative spirit - his desire to work in harmony with this friend and neighbours - not personal aggressiveness. Comparative wealth will not be the criterion by which a man is judged by his fellows. Success in a socialist society will imply that a man has earned the respect, admiration and life of his fellow citizen respect, admiration and life of his fellow citizens by his desire to serve, and by the contribution he has made to the well-being of the community.

Democratic socialist theory differs from Marxism in the following ways :

i) It does not assume that matter is the basis of all life nor that the clash of opposites is the only path to progress.

ii) It does not regard economic structures as the most important aspect of society.

iii) It does not make rigid predictions about how society will inevitably change. It allows for many possibilities of bringing change.

iv) It does not advocate violent conflict between owners and worker as the way to bring change.

v) Marxism lays down, in an authoritarian manner, what a perfect human society must be like, and how it will come about. Socialism has no such dogmatic vision of what a better society must be like. It allows for many variations in the expression of human dignity and equality.

vi) Marxism can only respond to the present problems of society by predicting the inevitable rise of a perfect society, whereas socialism allows for a more realistic and flexible stance.

Africa's Woes :

In the last 25 years, more than 70 leaders in 29 African nations have been deposed by assassination, purges, or coups. Among the 41 major independent black African nations, only seven allow opposition political parties. Seventeen are single party states. Another seventeen are ruled by military regimes. African countries are riddled by foreign debt to the tune of $ 100 billion annually. In the mean while, Sub Saharan Africa's population of 210 million 1960 has grown to 883 million. It continues to increase by 2.9% annually the fastest growth rate in the world. Thus human fertility rate is increasing at the top speed while the fertility of soil is decreasing. Sub Saharan Africa is burdened with half the world's 10 million refugees, partly as result of the drought that has held the Sahel region in its and grip for more than decade. As nomadic herdmen wander thousands of miles in search of food and water, some 14 million acres of potentially productive grasslands are destroyed each year by their lives etc. At least 20 of the continent is desert. It is believed that the process of desertification could encompass 40% of Africa in 50 years if current pattern of land use are allowed to continue. Famine and pestilence plague hundreds of thousands of Africans. Political oppression in the neighbouring countries also has its share in the increase of refugees in countries like Ghana, Somalia, Sudan, Algeria, Congo etc.

Unfortunately the leaders of the African countries just like those of other developing countries does see the necessity of small labour intensive projects suitable to their conditions. Instead they allow technological white elephants to proliferate. In Tanzania, Zaire and Somalia, glass - and - steel airport facilities built in anticipation of air-traffic that has not materialized, have been allowed to fall apart. Escalators do not work, electronic light schedule boards have been replace by blackboards; automatic sliding glass doors have to be operated manually. In Uganda and Angola, some high-rises lack glass panes and running water. In 1975 Canada built a $ 2.5 million semi automated bakery in Dar es-sallam, but often there is no flour to make bread. A Soviet built Cement Factory at Diamou, Mali was designed for a capacity of 50,000 tons per year. But in the first year it produced only 5 tons! In accepting such largest African leaders have emortgaged themselves to outside interests. According to Senegal's President, corruption is endemic to the continent of Africa.

Latin America

Coups, conflict and corruption are Africa's woes as they are with Latin American Countries. Latin American Countries are reeling under ever increasing inflation and oppressing foreign debts.

Their debt load has quadrupled since1973 to $ 350 million. Their borrowing countries often expanded the money from their loans on wasteful or overly ambitious ventures. Brazil and a Paraquay spend $ 18 billion to construct the Itaipu Dam, the largest hydro electric power project in the world, but it has so far produced virtually no power. Because so much money was so freely available in Latin America, as a result of foreign loans many needed development programmes led to widespread waste and corruption. Many of these nations are governed by military or communist of Christian dictatorship. Philosophers and writers are in exile., Activities of civil right movement have to undergo ruthless oppression and torture and political murders have become the order of the day in quite in few countries there.

Population and growth of cities

According to the world Bank's estimation, global population could nearly double, to about 8.3 billion in 2025. Out of this total about 7 billion will be residents of the under capitalized, undernourished Third World. As a consequence, there will be widespread hunger, and unemployment, accompanied by environmental devastation and cancerous urban growth. Politically the outcome could be heightened global instability, violence and authoritarianism. By the year 2000, some 630 million young adults will join the Third World labour force, while industrialized countries will add only 20 million young workers. In such counties as Tanzanian and India where people depend on firewood for fuel, deforestation is damaging flood control, speeding erosion and adding to the hardship of merely staying alive.

While the highly industrialized developed countries have not done very well managing their big cities, how the Third World countries such as India, Indonesia and Mexico can handle them is beyond one's comprehension. Mexico city has grown to about 20 million people and it may surpass Tokyo as the largest city of the world. It consists in large of job seeking pals peasants coming in from the countryside at a rate 1000 per day. Mexico city is said to be the capital of underdevelopment, a capital of pollution and a capital of slums. Its afflictions - a mixture of overcrowding, poverty. Pollution and corruption are a warning to all the other great cities in the Third World. The recent statistics of Mexico city according to Time magazine are appalling.

More than 2 million of the city's people have no running water in their homes. More than 3 million residents have no sewage facilities. Mexico city produces about 14,000 tons of garbage every day but processes only 8,000. Three million cars and 7,000 diesel factories pollute the air. The daily total of chemical air pollution amounts to 11,000 tons. The combination of chemical and biological poisons kill 30,000 children every year through respiratory and gastro intestinal diseases. Over all, pollution may account for the deaths of nearly 1,00,000 people a year.

The story is the same if not worse in other megacities of the Third World such as Cairo, Shanghai and Kolkatta. It is estimated that 600,000 of Kolkatta's population have no real homes of 10.2 million who live at or below the poverty line. For atleast 200,000 people living there, the only source of income is begging. These cities have become human jungles and deserts of steel and concrete..

Though the world seems to have been divided into two blocks, viz. West and East of Capitalist and Communist, there are quite a few other divisions on the basis of industrialism and development. Developed and Developing nations, North and South, Industrialised and otherwise etc.

Inspite of or on account of these divisions and groupings the majority of the world population lives in poverty and squalor. Instead of channeling the resources of the earth to mitigate poverty and hunger, the nations of the world are engaged in arms race.

Ideological difference between the communist block and the capitalist block pales into insignificant, due to too much to centralization of political power and economic power - a common factor in both types. Material pursuit and progress is given the pride of place in their policy frame.

Even among the industrialised countries, America and Japan seem to be going ahead as far as high technology industries are concern, leaving behind the West European nations such as Britain, France and Germany. Depletion of mineral resources is taking place at a great speed which makes it impossible for the poor countries to imitate the West in their policy of industrializations. It simply can not be done. Going for nuclear power is absured because it is costly, risky and dangerous for the human race. It is beyond the reach of the poor countries of the South. Any attempt to graft westernized industrial pattern to the nations of the South will spell doom in the near future.

The 1999 and beyond :

Johan Galtung said, "sometimes history sleeps; sometimes it walks; sometimes it runs..." Today history is moving in tremendous speed. It really flies. The accelerated growth of science and technology has revolutionized growth. What is written today has to be revised tomorrow.

The decline of Communism in the East Europe and the collapse of Soviet Union has ended the cold war era. Today the USA has emerged as the most powerful nation state. The European Economic Community is moving towards a "United States of Europe". The European Community now includes more nations and eleven nations of European Community now includes more nations and eleven nations of European Community have launched a common currency (Euro) from 1st Jan. 1999. The European Community may emerge as a competitor for USA. Though Soviet Union has collapsed, its East European allies have gone out of its influence and control and Russia itself is undergoing tremendous difficulties, still Russia is potentially a powerful country. It may remerge with renewed strength. The disintegration of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia still continue to cause immense in fights and terrorist and state violence. The situation in Northern Ireland has considerably improved. Democracy and Human Rights are generally on the ascendency in Europe with increased prosperity.

The Asian situation is much more complex. While Israel is slowly improving its relationship with Palestine in spite of frequent setbacks, Iraq continue to challenge the world. The Islamic world, united and liberated, can easily emerge as a super power but the struggle for leadership in the Islamic world, among countries may be never ending. The (former Soviet) central Asian republics are a new realities. Afghanistan continue to be a centre of terrorist violence. The nuclear race in South Asia has reached dangerous levels but still there are also signs of hope. China puts up a "brave face" but

Tibet, Taiwan and movement for democracy and human rights are bound to become formidable. Will China collapse on the model of Soviet Union? The "blooming Asian economics" have declined. Even the "mighty" Japan is facing an economic crisis. Movement for democracy against oppressive regimes have made considerable progress as in the case of Burma and Indonesia but still the goal is at a great distance. The bleeding Cambodia and East Timur have some new hopes. Terrorism has spread for and wide. Religious fundamentalism is on the rise. The basic human necessities are yet to be met. Millions still starve, dehumanize and die. The globalisation and liberalisation process have touched nook and corner of Asia and the multinationals penetrate everywhere. Though some countries try to seal themselves away from the main trend, it seems to be a loosing game. The reaction to multinational also take the form of religious fundamentalism and narrow nationalism. The Transnationalism takes expressions is regional alliances and bi and multilateral agreements.

The African continent is expressing its pains through AIDS, poverty and unending civil wars. The rise of new South Africa has brought new hopes but the evil impact of decades of apartheid cannot be done away within a short span of time . The brutal civil war in Angola, Somalia, Cango, Algeria and elsewhere have brought untold sufferings to the people. In some of these countries there is no food but there are sophisticated weapons. The Latin American countries are struggling hard with their debt crisis, internal violence and external exploitation. The environmental problem has taken a new turn. The industries which cause deadly pollution is more and more housed in the poorer countries. The rich bio-diversity of Asian, African and Latin American countries are over exploited ruthlessly by greedy local merchants, politicians and multinationals resulting in deforestation, wild fire and destruction of local cultures. The former totalitarian rulers of Indonesia and current illegal rulers of Burma have sold their, forest wealth for personal gain. Many countries lack good governence. Even former freedom fighters with impressive records of self-sacrifice have betrayed their people when they came to power with popular support. The political leaders have betrayed their own people in many countries and they have forgotten their own promises given to their people.

The failure of the poorer countries develop adequate appropriate technology and decentralized mode of production system have led to increased unemployment and underemployment. The globalisation process has operated in favour of the rich countries. The new patent system has only helped them.

The rich countries have supported the oppressive and fundamentalist forces in the third World countries if that suited their short term gains.

As we move into the 21st century, we, with our creativity, can remake our destiny. From darkness we have moved into some light though still a heavy cloud of darkness is waiting on background. Now we can either move into greater light overcoming darkness or become a victim of darkness.

Gandhi is relevant today, not as a mere curiosity, but as a valid and timely alternative.

What is Gandhism?

Gandhism is the sum total of teachings and achievements of Gandhi and their continued developments. The expression is similar to "Marxism". The expression "Sarvodaya" is only a synonym to this (Gandhism). Truth, non-violence, welfare of all first, and welfare of the last, appropriate technology, simplicity, bread labour, non-possession, decentralization, living in tune with nature, justice, swaraj, trusteeship, unity of humankind, swadeshi, equality, removal of discrimination and oppression etc., are the basic features of Gandhism.

Mahatma Gandhi was neither a theorist nor a system builder like Karl Marx. He believed in concrete historical action. But from his action one can derive a system and a theory. Gandhi was acting with a theory and system. But this was a growing one and not a closed one. Abstract theories and systems are bound to become dead and static and will not be useful for the future. Further abstractions is an artificiality and it is conditioned and not real and natural. Gandhi was aware of these limitations. He acted and through action, the system becomes dynamic and creative.

What is Universalism?

If a system is applicable to all times and to all people we may call it a universal system, i.e., it is unbounded by space and time. It is valid for the whole of humanity and for all the times.

Gandhism is Universal :

Mahatma Gandhi was an activist and he has a historical context. But as mentioned earlier, he has a system and that can be reconstructed. Now let us see whether that is universal? Let us take a few basic and fundamental tenets of Gandhism and try to show their universality.

(i) Truth :

Gandhi made a fine distinction between Absolute Truth and Relative Truth. The former is to be reached in the future after an unending and relentless quest. Relative Truth is the truth at hand and it is to be continuously perfected, experimented and implemented. Search for truth and individual and social actions on the basis of its realization are central to Gandhism. It is evident that this is universal and this alone will make one human. People belonging to any school of thought will accept this.

(ii) Non-violence:

Non-violence is perhaps the most essential aspect of Gandhism. Non-killing, non-injury - direct or indirect, disarmament, inner peace, all pervading love and mercy, alternative life style in tune with non-violence, constructive work to built up a new world free from violence, peaceful resolution of conflicts, and non-violent action (satyagraha) at all levels are included in the concept of non-violence. There is violence and it is being strengthened by the ever-growing war technology (weapons transportation and communication and trained and skilled military). There is non-violence and it is to be strengthened in the Atomic Age so that life may be preserved on this planet. In Gandhi the central idea is a shift from the existing civilization based on violence to that of a new civilization based

on non-violence. Civilization has been moving in the direction of non-violence except for the fact that the effect of violence has enormously increased due to the ever growing war technology but we have to move forward with a new leap. Our survival question is linked with this. Gandhi made a distinct contribution by developing mass satyagraha as an alternative to war. This is to be continuously perfected and grown.

(iii) Welfare of all and welfare of the last :

All philosophies including Marxism and Capitalism proclaim that they stand for the welfare of the people. But it is not the welfare of all. But it is in fact the welfare of many at the cost of a few and in reality is the welfare of a few at the cost of many. This is all the more true if we look at things in a global perspective. Let us be more specific. The whites who could not live in harmony and peace in their own countries migrated in North America after its discovery. By genociding the natives to North America and by exploiting the black slaves of Africa ('imported' into North America), USA emerged. Today to keep their super power status, they are exploiting the world. The Moscow State became the Greater Russia by occupation more and more territories. Violent revolution and suppression, torture and exploitation led to the establishment of a super power Soviet Union. Under Stalin's regime alone twenty million people killed. The Asian Muslims of Russia are treated as second class citizens. Though Soviet Union talks about equality, it is only within its own country and in the global context it behaves very similar to the capitalistic USA. Both these super powers manufacture weapons without end, provide a high standard of extravagant life to their people at the expense of others and behave as the worst feudal lords of the globe. Karl Marx expected a revolution to happen first in England. The conditions of workers in England was extremely bad at that time (mid XIX century). But by robbing the colonical countries, the condition of the British workers were improved and thus a revolution was averted. Thus the condition British workers were improved at the cost of others, But today we have reached a stage in development that it is but impossible to ignore many for the sake of a few (who think that they constitute the universe). All systems have failed in achieving the proposed goals of "the welfare of many". This is because two things alone are possible: Welfare of a few or Welfare of all. Welfare of many" will sooner or later degenerates into "welfare of a few". When the welfare of the few alone is protected, the system is bound to become unstable sooner or late. For Gandhi the notion of "Welfare of all" beings with "Welfare of the last". Mahatma Gandhi was the only one who had the courage to proclaim the concept of "Welfare of all". All others excluded the "other" as "enemy" or "sinner" or "barbaric".

(iv) Appropriate technology (Khadi and Village Industries)

The Industrial Revolution as developed in West Europe in the XVII, XVIII & XIX centuries had the following goals: greedy capitalism, colonialism and aggression (war technology), affluence of a few at the cost of many. It is very unfortunate that the same model is being copied grant scales everywhere. This is the main cause of today's world problems. Mahatma Gandhi stood for appropriate technology. By its very definition appropriate technology depends on the particular historical, socio economic and political context. But Gandhian appropriate technology should satisfy the following conditions - welfare of all and welfare of the last, non-exploitation justice, quality

fulfillment of basic needs, peace and health, economy, saving, maintaining the eco system, serving the neighbour, concern for humanity, reverence for all life, etc.

(v) Simplicity:

If our goal is "welfare of all" then extravagance will be the greatest barrier. We should take into consideration the total resource available, the total population and the future when consuming anything. The affluence of the few and poverty of the many are intimately connected. The former causes the latter. As long as the former is there the existence of the latter is but inevitable. In a world where everyday 40,000 children die of starvation, extravagance is a crime.

(vi) Decentralization:

Gandhian stands for decentralization at all levels especially at the economic and political level. Small and face-to-face communities, self-reliant and self-sufficient village republics, small in the place of giants, people's participatory and partyless democracy, swadeshi, etc., are its characteristic features. As pointed out by E.F. Schumacher, New York and Bombay are more vulnerable that the tiny villages of rural India. We move towards greater centralization in all aspects. If some thing goes wrong somewhere, the entire system may collapse. Alienation stereo-types, automation, totalitarianism, imperialism, neo-colonialism etc., are the results. If the present state of affairs continue, Orwel's *Big Brothers* is likely to emerge soon or later. Decentralization does not mean fragmentation and return to primitive tribal status. Decentralization is a consciously engineered thing and it is a thing of the future and not a return to the past. It does not merely mean living locally but assumes thinking globally. Decentralization is the result of global concern and perspective. History has again and again proved beyond doubt that larger civilizations and centralized systems are beyond to disintegrate. Without learning from the past we move with greater speed in the wrong way.

(vii) The Constructive Programmes :

It is a highly developed and evolved form of social work, social change technique and social service. Anybody can work from here and now itself for the upliftment of the people. The constructive worker is a catalyst setting the people at self-generating action which would lead to development in all its aspects. All societies of the world at any given time needs development activities and thus constructive work is universally needed.

Mahatma Gandhi listed eighteen items of constructive work. For this it took him more than fifty years of most active work with the people and with profound knowledge. At the time of his assassination he was working to revise a pamphlet on this subject. He has left the list open subject to additions and modifications. Our purpose here is to show the universal character of the programmes developed by him. These appear to be highly context sensitive.

Gandhi, developed them not as theory but action programme for his own context. For example the programme "Removal of Untouchability" seems to fit in only with the Indian context of the XX century. But deeper analysis will show that in every society at all times and places, there have been

sections of population who were suppressed and kept at the periphery of the societies. This evil has to be removed. The context and content of this problem may vary but this is the core of the problem. Of course we can learn a lot from Gandhi's experiments but we have to be imaginative and creative and should not repeat as parrots and if we do so we are bound to be defeated. Another example is "Prohibition". We should include all varieties of liquor, abusive drugs and all varieties of tobacco and other intoxicants mild or strong.

(viii) Non-Possession :

Karl Marx stood for abolishing private property of all sorts. But in Soviet Union and other Communist countries there is state ownership as against individual or corporate ownership as in capitalist countries. Gandhism stands for non-possession and it is the a most cardinal principle. Here it is not merely non-possession of external material things but it is also a mental status. In this sense Gandhism is an advancement over Marxism.

(ix) Self - restraint :

The Western civilization stands for greed, ambition, infinite consumption and progress. They thought it is the way for happiness. But experience has shown that happiness is rather a mental status and it is to be searched also inwardly. Degrading poverty should be removed. But mere multiplication of wants alone will not bring in happiness. It will bring in dissatisfaction, confusion and ultimately depression. Self-restraint in all areas of activities will make life more meaningful and worth while. We can go on explaining each one aspect of Gandhism in his way and show conclusively that Gandhism is universal and that task is left to the students.

(x) Swaraj :

"Swaraj" is a much broader concept than freedom and self-rule. It is multi-dimensional concept. A person who is dependant on the doctor and medicines all the times tends to loose his swaraj. An addict has no swaraj.

One may say that total swaraj is an impossibility. This is true. But one can attain a relative swaraj. Whatever one receives from an other need to be returned in some form or other. Mutual inter-dependance is inevitable and it is healthy and good. But interdependance should not degenerate into slavish attachment or exploitation or domination.

(xi) Swadeshi and unity of humankind :

One has to be rooted in the soil but can grow indefinitely. Swadeshi is a restatement of the concept of "Love they neighbour". Swadeshi is a way to relate to the neighbour who is in distress and needs help and nourishing support. But one's love need to grow to embrace the entire humankind and beyond. Gandhism unlike Marxism of the Soviet Union or Chinese brand which is essentially nationalist and imperialist in character, is global in its outlook, inspiration and action. There is no other idealogy which is genuinely universal.

Gandhian concept of development :

The Western paradigm of development, with its main elements being the emphasis on economic growth, capital-intensive technology and centralized planning is unsuitable for the Third World Countries. According to this paradigm, under development is mainly the result of internal factors such as traditional outlook, an inefficient bureaucracy, outdated land tenure system, case-race bound immobility and the deep rooted rural bias of the population. It wants to overcome the traditional, backward, non-profit oriented mentality and attitude towards work. It believed that working purely to satisfy one's limited needs would get society nowhere. Where then, did it want the society to go? This question was not asked seriously enough during the 1950s and 1960s. Western man was so proud of his material achievements measured in terms of urbanization, energy consumption, and 'auto' mobility that nobody was prepared to listen to the voice asking about the ultimate cost. They, in the West, were proud of the doubling of children's life expectancy and did not take notice of the modern killing capacities that developed simultaneously.

The outward glamour and glitter of an iron cage of consumerism has successfully supported their illusion that they lived in a golden age of affluence. According to The Global 2000 Report to the President by the time today's 10-year-olds are thirty, there will be less water available, less fertile land, less clean air, less wilderness. One fifth of the species with whom we now co-inhabit this planet will probably be extinct. There will be less natural diversity, less leeway for waste and conflict, and the gap between the affluent and the hungry is expected to widen. The figures of suicides and despair are also equally appalling. In Germany everyday 10 old people aged sixty and above commit suicide and nearly 600 pupils, mostly from high schools, killed themselves in one year. It is obvious from all these data, that this culture based on individual competition and material achievement has reached the point of self-destruction. Accumulation of technical fitness to successfully compete with others has begun to turn against the human species as such. If it wants to survive the accident, it needs indeed a new orientation.

More and more concerned groups have become aware of the limits to growth. They are realizing the mutual dependence of the development of the 'North' and the underdevelopment of the South. This context of new value orientations and the quest for human survival is the main reason for the rediscovery of Gandhiji's message in the West. Voluntary simplicity has become a force that is backed by a major shift in public opinion. The Dutch economist Jan Tinbergen had to state that there is no other way except to go back to Gandhi's idea of simple living and high thinking. Richard B. Gregg argued that the way to master the increasing complexity of modern life is not through still more complexity. Instead we need to turn inward to that which unifies all not the intellect but the spirit-and then to devise and put into operation new forms and modes of economic and social life.

According to Detlef Kantowsky, the Sarvodaya concept differs totally from this kind of 'techno-economic' alternative. For Gandhi village reconstruction and work for the welfare of all were not appropriate and timely techniques to save the Indian state machinery but means of achieving. Truth and freedom as the ultimate aims of serialization. He firmly believed that the village community and village economy were the only units which would enable the individual with all his human deficiencies,

to work both for his own self-realization and that of his neighbours. He knew only too well the bureaucratic structures, that are bound to arise if 'need satisfaction' is planned and administered by a staff of development experts. Thus he did not strive for equal opportunities on the abstract level of per capita income; instead, he relied on the functional diversity and cultural heterogeneity of the Indian subcontinent. Its rural inhabitants would know best how to adjust to the potential of an area if only they were allowed to think act on their own behalf ".

Thus Sarvodaya offers an alternative concept of development. It starts with a new definition of aims, with reference to a value system that differs fundamentally from the world view which governs modern thinking. The relevance of Gandhian approach to South Asia's problems is not yet fully understood and appreciated by the functional elites of this region since they have learned their lessons in Cambridge and they unfortunately try to refute a Gandhian view of India as passive or static. They are also dazzled by the outward glitter of the iron cage of consumerism and its false promise of shortcuts that will land the country straight into it. Let them rediscover Gandhian concepts as their counter parts in the West have begun to do and take a new turn before it is too late.

Pluralism

Mahatma Gandhi's insight that we need to live together with all our religious, linguistic, ethnic national, ideological and all other differences. We need to be self-critical of our limitations, errors, destortions, mistakes, falsehoods, stupidities, etc., and try to set them right. We need to nourish our strength and learn to live together. Gandhi's life is a model for this. As we come together closer and closer, the need to learn and practice the art and science of living together with peace, justice, compassion, reconciliation and solidarity.

Gandhism (Sarvodaya) is an open ended system and one can always march ahead new visions and strategies to the existing Gandhism and make suitable modifications to make it relevant and meaningful to local contexts. Most other systems like Communism are closed systems and suffer from the limitation of historical determinism. Gandhism expects the fresh and new development of today and tomorrow with an open mind.

LESSONS 3 - 5

THE SEXUAL MORALITY AND GANDHI - THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE - THE FUTURE POSSIBILITIES - THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

One of the major issues of our times is the crisis in human relationships. Alienation has become a central issue. TV, computers and internet may reduce real human contacts further.

In red colour, there may be thousands of varieties. But we are only a few names to describe them. Similarly there are innumerable types of relationships and we have not even carefully looked at many of them. We try to place any relationship under a few categories which we have defined.

Human mind, like computer can accept informations and through categories. We call everything by some name or other. Then we reduce everything to the small set of categories. This means we not even include many deeper and emerging forms of new relationship. We do not even identify and recognize many of them or simply place under already existing religion some form of relationship.

Gandhi married Kasturba at the age of 13. He tried to use her as a sexual object with great love, admiration and affection. He wanted to dominate over her, to control her and to enslave her. Kasturba tried to function as a tolerant Hindu wife. Gandhi was separated from her because of his studies in London first and then due to his work in South Africa. But he took her and children along with him when he went to South Africa for the second time Kasturba fully participated in his work. Their home slowly became an "ashram" where many people of different religions, languages, nationalities come and even stayed. Their home became a "world in miature". Then came the phoneix settlement. Kasturba took part in the nonviolent campaign. He led the women folk and went to jail. Gandhi-Kasturba (traditional husband-wife relationship) now emerged to include the following relationships.

1) Fraternal relationship

2) Friendship

3) Mentor-disciple relationship

4) Fellowship

5) Co-worker....

When Gandhi expressed his unilateral desire to take to a life of brahmacharya and self-less service, she at once positively responded.

Gandhi later even went to the extend of confessing that Kasturba was his guru for his satyagraha. Gandhi-Kasturba relationship took the turn of a pilgrimage and an adventure. They became co-workers and co-pilgrims marching towards greater truth, greater love and greater light and life.

Mahatma Gandhi's notion of a "husband-wife relationship" underwent tremendous changes finally resulting in a holistic relationship. One pro-requirement for this is the shifting of the focus from sexual relationship to holistic relationship. Brahmacharya or self-restraint with the increasing spiritual dimension is the way out.

Today sex has become the centre of commercial exploitation. There is all out attempt to instigate and activate sex in all possible ways. As a result sex becomes a major activity is human life. But Gandhi wanted to control sex in a most natural way and sublimate the sexual energy for greater and nobler activities.

Radical feminists to day realise that sexual activism subjugates women in certain ways. To achieve equality between sexes, the sexual instinct has to find its proper place.

Responsible parenthood demands enlightened sexual relationship. Much of sexual abuse, misuse and excess have led many of the complications in the psyche and body of the people. The "wounded" and "partially-grown" people became major source of problem in this world.

Gandhi and Population control

"A large part of the miseries of today can be avoided, if we regard ourselves as trustees for the moral welfare of the future generations".

- Gandhi, Self restraint Vs. Self-indulgence 1958, p.91.

"A life of Perfect Continence is necessary for reaching spiritual perfection".

- Gandhi, Self-restraint Vs. Self-indulgence 1959, p.70.

"Self-indulgence leads to destruction and renunciation to immortality".

- Gandhi, from Yeravada Mandir, 1980 p. 59.

The Population explosion in India, like any other country is a twentieth century phenomenon. Previously when industry had not so improved and also the medical care, there was no problem of over population, no scarcity of land and population growth was no hindrance to the development of society. But India has encountered and enormous increase of population in the present century, an increase which is continuing at the rate of 13 million and now much more per year. This has exercised tremendous pressure on the limited resources of the country. No doubt the country has advanced much in economic field especially during the last three decades. Yet, in spite of it her problems are staggering and her poverty more pervasive than before, mainly because of the unprecedented increase in population number.

As early as in 1920, Gandhi was concerned about the growing population of the country and he wrote in the October issue of Young India thus :

"I must not conceal from the reader the sorrow I feed when I hear of births in this land. I must confess that for years I have contemplated with satisfaction the prospect of suspending procreation by voluntary self denial. India is ill equipped today for taking care even of her present population."

When Gandhi made this observation, the population of India, was 250 million. Today it has passed beyond the 680 million mark; and moving rapidly towards 1,000 million mark ! (of course this excludes Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc.). It has resulted in increasing unemployment, poverty and widespread misery.

The followings are his observations about over population and its control :

"If it is contended that birth-control is necessary for the nation because of over-population. I dispute the proposition. It has been proved in my opinion by a proper land system, better agriculture and a supplementary industry, this country is capable of supporting twice as many people as there are in it today.

(Young India, 24-1925, p.118)

The bogey of increasing birth-rate is not a new thing. It has been often trotted out. Increase in population is not and ought not to be regarded as calamity to be avoided. Its regulation or restriction by artificial methods is a calamity of the first grade whether we know it or not. It is bound to degrade the race if it becomes universal which, thank God, it is never likely to be. Pestilence, wars and famines are cursed antidotes against cursed just which is responsible for unwanted children. If we would avoid this three-fold curse, we would avoid too the curse of unwanted children by the sovereign remedy of self-control. The evil consequences of artificial methods are being seen by discerning men even now, without, however, encroaching upon the moral domain, let me say that propagation of the race rabbit-wise must undoubtedly be stopped, but not so as to bring greater evils to its train. It should be stopped by methods which in themselves ennoble the race. In other words, it is all a matter of proper education which would embrace every department of life, and dealing with one curse will take in its orbit all the others. A way is not to be avoided because it is upward and therefore uphill. Man's upward progress means ever increasing difficulty which it is to be welcomed."

(Harijan 31-3-1946, p.66)

Population Ethics : A Hindu Perspective

As an agricultural and rural population, the Hindu Community has been generally in favour of a large family. This was mainly due to the fear of infant mortality and the desire for the male issue. But now that the modern medicine and health has taken care for infant, mortality, it has declined sharply (from about 220 thousand in 1920 to 98 per thousand in 1960) and is steadily decreasing further. The death rate has also continued to diminish (from 48 per thousand in 1921 to 15 per thousand in 1971) and shown still a downward trend. Yet the birth rate has remained high and fairly consistent. Consequently, families have become large resulting in a population explosion.

Population growth is posing a practical and moral challenge to the followers of every religious tradition in India, and especially to Hindus, who constitute eighty percent of all Indians. The Hindus are naturally obliged to reconsider some of their traditional attitudes towards family, caste and society and make some innovations, within their tradition, favourable to population control and the small family norm.

Principles of Hindu Ethics :

Hindu Ethics covers the well-being of man not only in this world but also his life in the 'Other world' after death. It contains a code of life and philosophy of social and ethical relations, it aims at righteous, economic well-being, aesthetic enjoyment and spiritual salvation. Worldly well being and spiritual salvation are the twin aspects of dharma-ethics.

Of the four varnas that a person's life is divided into the grahastha or the householders stage is considered to be root of all other stages. An individual enters the family, the basic unit of society, and becomes a responsible member of the community. His sexual life stands side by side with wealth and righteousness. Kama sexual life is a legitimate aspiration. It means gratification of all aesthetic urges. It is an important means for mental and emotional balance for men as well as women. However it has to be regulated so that it does not undermine one's physical and mental health or contravene the good of society.

Man has to get married, because Taittrya Upanishad says, "He indeed is without sacrifice who has got no wife". The purpose of marriage is pleasure, parenthood, companionship, sacrificial service and spiritual bliss. Hence marriage was held in very high esteem.

Rig Veda contains many prayers for children. Especially a son is supposed to free his debts, from hell. The son confers upon a father immortality. In Rig Veda each householder prayed for sons, ten in number. Since in those days of warfare, agricultural necessities and high rate of infant mortality, they needed sons for security, help and of course to free them from the curse of hell.

In the course of time this perspective changed. Instead of wishing for heavenly enjoyments from the offerings of many sons, people started looking for salvation dependent on moral life and spiritual knowledge. "A man should approach his wife every month until a son is born. The Vedic prayer for ten sons is only a praise, therefore no sin in not approaching woman with many sons".

The ambition of the Hindu father came to be to produce a son physically as strong as a stone or an axe and intellectually as brilliant as gold, with a life span covering a hundred autumns. The ambition of a Hindu girl was to be the wife of a hero and the mother of a hero (Brahdaranyaka Upanishad) Manu says, "By the birth of the first alone man pays off his ancestral debt.... Only he is born of dharma righteousness; the rest are born of Kama, passion". Actually a son and a daughter would fulfil the religious, social and emotional needs of a Hindu couple.

The basis of population control should not be merely a "higher standard" of life or "longer" life, but it should be "better life". The quality of life consists in the contribution it can make to the traditional values and ideals of householders, the loving care of family and children, respect for women, service of one's community, the welfare of posterity and the moral and spiritual progress of human personality Hindu insights such as discipline sacrifice compassion and contentment can be advantageously used to motivate people to the acceptances of the small Family norm. The ideal of welfare of the world taught in the Bhagavad Gita reveals deep interest in human happiness and stability of society, it

requires from each member of society a way of life consistent with the general welfare of mankind. But over population threatens humanity with poverty hunger, sickness and so forth.

Abstinence

Hindu customs have laid down principles regarding the rules of sexual abstinence for house holder. Widow remarriage is prohibited in Hindu society and also intercourse among the married during certain periods and religious days. Though Hindu community has started having the awareness about the need of birth control, Gandhiji's insistence on abstinence does not seem to find acceptance among them.

The other solution is in the postponement of marriage for both. If the marriage age of females in India especially among the Hindus rises to twenty years, the birth rate is likely to decline by thirty percent. With the introduction of free education and higher education the age of marriage among urban and educated girls have risen in recent years. Put there are still a vast number of rural females who do not go to schools. Spread of literacy education among both males and females is a sure though slow remedy for over population. Perhaps the ancient custom of swayamvara can be advantageously used in this regard.

Contraception :

Brahdaranyaka Upanishad spells out a method of birth control for a man "who desires his wife, but does not want her to conceive". Shastras recommend a temperate exercise of the sex instinct by the householder. Since contraception avoids unwanted and undesirable pregnancies, it can be and a generally accepted by the Hindu.

Abortion :

Abortion is legal in India for the purpose of saving the life of a woman. But Hindu in general look upon it as sinful and it amounts to taking the life of a sentient being. Compassion for suffering woman demands a reconsideration of the traditional attitude toward unwanted pregnancies. The general attitude, however, is likely to continue to be in favour of conception rather than the abortion of an unwanted conception.

Sterilization :

Sterilization is a reliable and uncomplicated method of Family Planning Gandhi did not approve of it except in cases of individuals with chronic diseases. It has neither religious nor moral sanction and compulsory sterilization violates human personality and creates psychological and social problems. But it can be made available to both males and females under two conditions (a) it should be voluntary; and (b) since it is irreversible, it should be available only to those parents who have one or two children to satisfy their religious and social requirements.

Gandhi's views on artificial control of birth

Gandhi felt that the modern artificial methods of controlling the size of the family are not proper and they are leading to disastrous results. For example, the use of contraceptives is undermining the

health of Westerners because it encourages excessive sex indulgence and is also encouraging pre-marital sexual relations. Again in Japan, the technique of abortions is giving birth so tensions and creating new problems besides undermining the health of woman.

To quote Gandhi.

"Procreation is a natural phenomenon indeed, but within specific limits. A transgression of these limits imperils womankind, emasculate the race, induces diseases, put a premium on vice and makes the world ungodly"

(Young India, April 29, 1925)

Again :

"If contraceptives are resorted to, frightful results will follow Men and Woman will be living for sex alone. They will become soft brained, unhinged, in fact, mental and moral wrecks".

(Amrit Bazar Patrika, Jan.12, 1935)

There is yet another objection :

"Assuming that birth control by artificial aids is justifiable certain conditions it seems to be utterly impracticable of application among the millions".

(Harijan Sep.14, 1935)

He admits in his Autobiography that while he was in England studying for law and became involved in vegetarianism, it was the conviction of Mr. Hills the president of the Vegetarian society that had abiding interest in him. Mr. Hills was opposed to Dr. Allinson's advocacy of the new birth control movement and supported strong itself control and internal effect.

Gandhi's four point programme

All these arguments did not mean that Gandhi was against all types of quantitative controls of population. The difference between him and the westerns is that he wanted to control the growth of population irrespective of the size, the nature resources and the stage of development of the country and through less injurious methods. This is evident from his views on marriage and Brahmacharya or celibacy.

Abolition of child marriage or late marriage

Gandhi, from his own experience had come to know the pitfalls of early marriage. He was married at the age of thirteen. Many years later when he was looking at the experiences of sex life in his early years, it was with a sense of remorse that he did. He thought that perhaps the undesirable traits he saw in his eldest son were an echo of his own indisciplined and unformulated early life. He called himself and his wife as 'married children' to denote how raw and immature their life had been in that married state. So he considered that such marriages to be null and void and as such no marriage at all. Such early marriages affect the rate of growth of population adversely but also affect

the health of the Partners because of over indulgence. Besides, being children themselves they will not be able to bring up the children in a proper way. Because of these circumstances, he felt also that a child widow was not in reality a widow, but a maiden and must be treated as much.

In his advice to students in Young India 15-9-1927 he writes thus : "You must be able surely to control your lust to his extent, that you are not going to marry a girl that is under 60 years of age. If I could do so I would lay down 20 as the minimum. Twenty years is early enough even in India. It is we who are responsible for the precocity of girls, not even the Indian climate, because we know girls of the age of 20 who are pure and undefiled and able to stand the storm that may rage round. Let us not long that precocity to ourselves some Brahmin students tell me that they cannot follow this principle that they cannot get Brahmin girls sixteen years old very few Brahmins keep their daughters unmarried till that age, the Brahmin girls are married mostly before 10, 12 and 13 years. Then I say to Brahmin youth, "Cease to be a Brahmin, if you cannot possibly control yourself. Choose a grown up girl of 16 who became a widow, when she was a child. If you cannot get a Brahmin widow who has reached that age then go and take any girl you like. And I tell you that the god of the Hindus will pardon that boy who preferred to marry out of his caste rather than ravish a girl of twelve. When you heart is not pure and you cannot master your passions you cease to be an educated man".

Bramacharya

The second formula which Gandhi gave was self-control or Brahmácharya or celibacy. Explaining its meaning and important he wrote :

"Let us remember the root meaning of Brahmacharya, Brahmacharya means charya or course of conduct adapted to the search of Brahma or Truth. From this etymological meaning arises a special meaning i.e., control of all the senses. We must forget the incomplete definition which restricts itself to the sexual aspect only.

(Young India, Sep. 3, 1931)

Brahmacharya is not merely mechanical celibacy, it means complete control over all the senses and freedom from lust in thought, and deed. As such it is a royal road to self realization or attainment of Brahma.

(Young India, April, P.1926)

"Bramacharya teaches self control not only of desire for sex but also of other senses. This all round self-control raises the moral fibre of the nation and removes vanity, anger, fear and jealously from the people.

(M.K.Gandhi, Self-Restraint Vs Self-Indulgence, Pp 51-53, 1958)

Brahmacharya is a mental state. It is undoubtedly helped by abstinence on all respects. But diet plays the least part in giving one the necessary mental state. Not the wrong diet will not hinder progress. What I want to say is that he right diet taken in moderation is not the only thing in the observance of Brahmacharya though it is undoubtedly one of the necessary things. Indulgence of the

palate will be the surest sign of a weak mental state which is repugnant to Brahmacharya. The sovereign remedy for the Brahmacharya is realization that the soul is a part of the Divine and that the Divine resides within us. A heart grasp of this induces menial purity and strength. You should therefore read such books as would enable you to grasp the central fact, cultivate such companionship as would constantly make you think of the Divine Presence and follow all the directions given about fresh air hip baths etc. in my book entitled Self-restraint Vs Self-indulgence. And when you are doing all these things regularly and industriously, do not brood over all that happens, but above confidence that success is bound to attain your effort".

(Selected Letters II)

Need for Brahmacharya

"A large part of the miseries of today can be avoided if we look at the relations between the sexes in a healthy and pure light and regard ourselves as trustees for the moral welfare to the future generations".

(Young India, 7-9-1928. p. 324)

Life without Brahmacharya appears to me to be insipid and animals like. The brute by nature knows no self-restraint. What formerly appeared to me to be extravagant praise of Brahmacharya our religious books seems now, with increasing clearness every day to be absolutely proper and founded on experience".

(An Autobiography, 1983, p.264)

"I hold that a life of perfect continence in thought, speech and notion is necessary for reaching spiritual perfection. And a nation that does not possess such men is poorer for the want".

(Young India, 13-C-92 C.P.3)

Explaining the proper meaning of the world, Gandhi wrote, in Young India 5-6-1924 (p.186) "the full proper meaning of Brahmacharya is searched of Brahman, Brahman prefaces every being and can therefore be searched by diving into and realizing the inner self. The realization is impossible without complete control of the senses. Brahmacharya means control in through, word, and action of all the senses at all times and in all places.

A man or woman completely practising Bramacharya is absolutely free from passion. Such a one therefore lives right to God, is God like. I have no doubt that it is possible to practise such Brahmacharya in thought, word and action to the fullest extent."

Again he writes about the meaning of Brahmacharya in Harijan 8-6-1947, p.180 'who is Brahmacharya?". It is the way of life which ideals us to Brahman God. It includes full control over the process of reproduction. The control must be in thought, word and deed. If the thought is not under control, the other two have no value. There is a saying in Hindustani :

"He whose heart is pure has the all purifying waters of the Ganga in his house. For one whose thought is under control the other is mere child's play. The Brahmachari of my conception will be

healthy and will easily live long. He will not even suffer from so much as a headache. Mental and physical work will not cause fatigue. He is ever bright, never clothful. Outward neatness will be an exact reflection of the inner. He will exhibit all the attributes of the steadfast one described in the Gita. It need cause no worry if not one person is met with answering the description.

Is it strange that one who is completely to conserve and sublimate the vital fluid which has the potentially of creating human beings should exhibit all the attributes described above? Who can measure the creative strength of such sublimation, one drop of which has the potentially of bringing into being a human life?

"So long as thought is not under complete control of the will Brahmacharya in its fullness is absent, involuntary thought is an affection of the mind, and curbing of thought, therefore, means curbing of the mind, which is even more difficult to curb than the wind. Nevertheless the existence of God within makes even control of the mind possible. Let no one think that it is impossible because it is difficult. It is the highest goal, and it is no wonder that the highest effort should be necessary to attain it".

(An Autobiography, 1983, p.76)

Gandhi says that mind is the most important instrument in the practice of Brahmacharya. Writing about this in From Yeravada Mandir pp.12-13 he says, "Brahmacharya, like all other observations must be observed in thought, word and deed, we are told in the Gita, and experience will corroborate the statement, that the foolish man, who appears to control his body, but is nursing evil thoughts in his mind makes a vain effort. It may be harmful to suppress the body, if the mind is at the same time allowed to go astray. Where the mind wanders, the body must follow sooner or later.

It is one thing to allow the mind to harbour impure thoughts it is a different thing altogether if it strays among them in spite of ourselves. Victory will be ours in the end if we non-cooperate with mind in its evil wanderings".

Inner condition is essential to control the mind. Gandhi says, Brahmacharya is a mental condition. The outward behaviour of a man is at once the sign and proof of the inner state. He who has killed the sexual urge in him will never be guilty of it is any shape or form. However attractive a woman may be, her attraction will produce no effect no man without the urge. The same rule applies to woman...

Brahmacharya is not a virtue that can be cultivated by outward restraints. He who runs away from a necessary contact with a woman does not understand the full meaning of Brahmacharya....

The true Brahmachari will shun fake restraints. He must create his own fences according to his limitations breaking them down when he feels that they are unnecessary. The first thing is to know what true Brahmacharya is, then to realise its value and lastly to cultivate this priceless virtue. I hold that true service of the country demands observance.

(Harijan, 15-6-1947, p.192)

"Control of sense ....Mere control of animal passion has been though to be tantamount to observing Brahmacharya. I feel that this conception is incomplete and wrong. Brahmacharya means control of all the organs of sense. He who attempts to control only one organ and allows all others free play is bound to find his effort futile.

To hear suggestive stories with the ears, to see suggestive sights with the eyes to taste stimulating food with the tongue to touch exciting things with the hands, and then at the same time, to expect to control the only remaining organ is like putting one's hand in the fire, and expecting to escape being burnt. He, therefore, who is resolved to control the one must be otherwise determined to control the rest.

I have always felt the much harm has been done by the narrow definition of Brahmacharya. If we practise simultaneous control in all directions, the attempt will be scientific and possible of success. Perhaps the palate is the chief sinner.

From Yeravada Mandir, pp.12-4

Gandhi cites his own example for striving for Brahmacharya for me the observance of even bodily Brahmacharya has been full of difficulties. Today I may say that I feel myself fairly safe, but I have yet to achieve complete mastery over thought, which is so essential. Not that the will or effort is lacking, but it is yet a problem to me where from undesirable thoughts spring their insidious invasion, I have no doubt that there is a key to look out understable thoughts, but every one has to find it out for himself. Saints and seers have left their experiences for us, but they have given us no infallible, able and universal prescription. For perfection of freedom from error comes only from grace, and so seekers after God have left us mantras such as Ramanama, h allowed by their own austerities and charged with their purity. Without an uncovered surrender to His grace, complete mastery over thought is impossible. This is the teaching of every great book of religion, and I am realizing the truth of every moment of striving after that perfect Brahmacharya."

(An Autobiography, 1983, p.265)

I have practised Brahmacharya for over thirty years with considerable success though luring in the midest of activities. After the decision to lead the life of a Brahmacharya there was little change in my outward practice except with my life.

My Brahmacharya was not derived from books I evolved my own rules for my guidance and that of these who, at my invitation had formed me in the experiment. If I have followed the prescribed restrictions, much less have I accepted the description found even in religious literature of woman as the source of all evil and temptations. Owing as I do all the good there may be in me to my mother. I have looked upon woman, never as an object of satisfaction of sexual desire, but always with the veneration due to my own another. Man is the tempter and aggressor. It is not women whose such defiles man but he is often himself too impure to touch her....

I am experimenting I have never claimed to have been a perfect Brahmacharya of my definition.

I have not acquired that control over my thoughts that I need for researches on non-violence. If my non-violence is to be contageous and infections, I must acquire greater control over my thoughts.

(Harijan, 23-7-1918, p.193)

"From that day when I began Brahmacharya, our freedom began. My wife became a free women, free from my authority and her lord and master, and I became free from the slavery to my own appetite which she had to satisfy. No other woman bad any attraction for me in the same sense that my wife had. I was too loyal to her at husband and loyal to the vow I had taken before my mother to be no slave to any other women. But the manner in which my Brahmacharya came to me irresistibly drew me to woman as the mother of man. She became too sacred for sexual love. And to every women at once become sister or daughter to me".

(Harijan, 4-11-1939, p.326)

"If I were sexually attracted towards women, I have courage enough, even at this time of life to become a polygamist. I, do not believe in free love. I have looked upon it as dog's lover. Secret love is besides, cowardly".

(Harijan, 4-11-1939, p.326)

"......I am sorry to say that I have not yet reached that perfect state of Brahmacharya, though I am every moment of my life striving to reach it. I have not given up hope of reaching that state in this very body. I have gained control over body. I can be master of myself during my waking hours. I have fairly succeeded in learning to control my tongue. But I have yet to cover many stages in the control of my thoughts. They do not come and go as my bidding. My mind is thus constantly in a state of insurrection against itself.

In my waking moments, however I can stop my thoughts from colliding with one another. I may say that in the waking state the mind is secure against the approach of evil thoughts. But in the hours of sleep, control over the thoughts is much less, when asleep, the mind would be swayed by all sorts of thoughts by unexpected dreams, and by desire for things done and enjoyed by the flesh before. Such thoughts or dreams when unclean are followed by the worse consequences. Whilst such experiences are possible person cannot he said to be free from all passions. The deviation is however diminishing, but has not yet ceased. If I had completed mastery over my thoughts I should not have suffered from the diseases of pleurisy, dysentery and appendicitis that I did during the last ten years. I believe that a healthy soul inhabit a healthy body. To the extent, therefore that the soul also grows into that state. This does not mean that a healthy body should be necessarily strong in flesh. A brave soul often inhabits a lean body. After a certain stage the flesh diminishes in proportion to the growth of the soul. A perfectly healthy body may be very fleshless, A muscular body is often their to many an ill, even if it is apparently free from disease, it is not immune from infections, contagious and the like. A perfectly healthy body, on the contrary is a proof against all there.

Such an equipoise is indeed difficult of attainment. Otherwise I could have reached it, because my soul is witness to the fact that I would spare no pains to attain this perfect state. No outward obstacle can stand between me and that state. But, it is not easy for all, atleast for one, to efface past

samskaara. But the delay has not in the least dismayed me. For I have a mental picture of that perfect state. I have even dim glimpses of it. The progress achieved fills me with the hope rather than despair. But even if I depart from this body before the hope is fulfilled. I would not think that I had failed. For I believe in rebirth as much as I believe in the existence of my present body, I therefore know that even a little effort is not wasted".

"I have said so much about myself for the simple reason that my correspondence and others like them may have patience and self confidence. The soul is one in all. Its possibilities are therefore the same for every one. With some it has manifested itself, with others it has yet to do so. Patient striving would carry everyone through and to the same experience".

"I have therefore, discussed Brahmacharya in its wider meaning. The ordinary accepted sense of Brahmacharya is the control of thought, word and action of animal passion. And it is quite proper thus, to restrict its meaning. It has been thought very difficult to practise this Brahmacharya. This control of the carnal desire has been so very difficult, has become nearly impossible equal stress has not been laid on the control of the palate. It is also the experience of one physicians that a body enfeebled by disease is always a favourite abode of carnal desire and Brahmacharya by an enfeebled race is difficult to practise naturally".

"I have talked above of a lean but healthy body. Let no one understand me to have depreciated physical culture. I have talked of Brahmacharya in its perfect in my crude language. It is likely therefore to be misunderstood. But one who would practise complete control of all the senses must needs welcome the waning of the flesh. With the extinction of attachment to the flesh comes the extinction of the desire to have muscular strength".

"But the body of a true Brahmacharya is bound to be exceptionally fresh and wiry. This Brahmacharya is something unearthly. He who is not swayed by carnal desire even in his sleep is worthy of all adoration. This control of every other sense shall be added unto him".

This above long quotation was a reply written by Gandhi in Navajivan of 5th May 1924 to some inquires regarding Brahmacharya.

"I am being inundated with letters on Brahmacharya and means to its attainment. Let me repeat at different language what I have already said or written on previous occasions Brahmacharya is not more mechanical celibacy. It means complete control over all the senses and freedom best in thought, word and deed. As such it is the royal road to self-realization or attainment of Brahman.

The ideal Brahmachari has not to struggle with sensual desire for procreation; it never troubles him at all. The whole world will be to him one vast family, he will centre all his ambition in relieving the misery of mankind and the desire for procreation will be to him as gall and wormwood. He who had realized the misery of mankind in all its magnitude will never be stirred by passion. He will instinctively know the fountain of strength in him; and he will ever preserve to keep it undefiled. His humble strength will command respect of the world, and he will wield an influence greater than of the sceptered monarch.

But I am told that this is an impossible ideal that I do not take count of the attraction between man and woman. I refuse to believe that the sensual affinity referred to here can be at all regarded as natural in that case the deluge would soon be over us. The natural affinity between man and woman is the attraction between brothers and sisters, mother and son or father and daughter. It is that natural attraction that sustains the world. I should find it impossible to live much less carry on my work if I did not regard the whole of woman kind as sisters, daughters or mothers. If I looked at them with lustful eyes, it would bet the surest way to perdition.

Procreation is natural phenomenon indeed, but within specific limits. A transgression of those limits imperils womankind, emasculates the race, induces, disease puts a premium on vice, and makes the world ungodly. A man in the grip of the sensual desire is a man without moorings. If such a one were to guide society, to flood it with his writings and men were to be swayed by them, where would society be? And yet we have the very thing happening today. Supposing a moth whirling round a light were to record the moments of its fleeting joy and we were to limitate it, regarding it as an example, where would we be? No, I must declare with all the power I can command that sensual attraction even between husband and wife is unnatural. Marriage is meant to cleanse, the hearts of the couple of sordid passions and take them nearer to God. Lustless love between husband and wife is not impossible. Man is not a brute. He has risen to a higher state after countless births in brute creation. He is born to stand, not to walk on all fairs or crawl. Bestiality is as far removed from manhood, as matter from spirit.

In conclusion I shall summarise the means to its attainment. The first step is the realization of its necessity. The next is gradual control of the senses. A Brahmachari must needs control his palate. He must eat to live and not for enjoyment. He must see only clean things and close his eyes before anything unclean. It is thus a sign of polite breeding to walk with one's eyes towards the ground and not wandering about from object to object. A Brahmachari will likewise hear nothing obscence or unclean smell no strong, stimulating thins. The smell of clean earth is far sweeter than the fragrance of artificial scents and essences, Let the aspirant to Brahmacharya also keep his hand and feet engaged in all the waking hours in healthful activity. Let him also fast occasionally.

The third step is to have clean companions, clean friends and clean books.

The last and not the least is prayer. Let him repeat Ramanama with all his heart regularly everyday and ask for divine grace.

None of these things are difficult for an average man or woman. They are simplicity itself. But their simplicity is embarrassing. Where there is a will, the way is simple enough. Man have no will for it and hence vainly grope. The fact that the world rests on the observance, more or less, of Brahmacharya or restraint means that it is necessary and practicable".

Gandhi was against artificial methods of birth control. "I know not what havoc vice has played among School boys and girls. The introduction of contraceptives under the name of sciences and the

imprimatur of known leaders of society has intensified the complication and made the task of reformers who work for purity of social life highly impossible".

(Harijan, 8-3-1936, p.58)

"I suggest it is cowardly to refuse to face the consequences of one's acts. Persons who use contraceptives will never learn the virtüe of self-restraint. They will not need it. Self-indulgence with contraceptives may prevent the coming of children but will sap the vitality of both men and women... perhaps, more of men than of women. It is unmanly to refuse battle with the devil".

(Harijan, 17-4-1937, p.64)

"I am afraid the advocates of birth-control take if for granted that indulgence in animal passion is a necessity of life and in itself is a desirable thing. The solicitude shown for the fair sex is most pathetic. In my opinion, it is an insult to the fair sex to put up her case in support of birth control by artificial methods. As it is, man has sufficiently degraded her for his lust and artificial methods, no matter how well-meaning the advocate may be. It will still further degrade her.

I urge the advocates of artificial methods to consider the consequences. Any large use of the methods is likely to result in the dissolution of the marriage bond and in free love. If man may indulge in animal passion for the sake of it what is he to do whilst he is, stay away from his home for any length of time, or when he is engaged as a soldier in a protracted war, or, when he is widowed, or when his wife is too ill to permit him the indulgence with injury to her health, notwithstanding the use of artificial methods".

(Young India, 24, 1925, p.118)

"I know that there are modern women who advocate these methods. But I have little doubt that majority of women will reject them as inconsistent with their dignity. If man means well by her, let him exercise control over himself. If it is not she also tempts. In reality man being is not she? The aggressor he is the real culprit and the tempter".

(Young India, 24, 1925, p.118)

"I take it that the wisest among the propagandists of contraceptives restrict use to married women who desire to satisfy their and their husbands sexual appetite without wanting children. I hold this desire as unnatural in the human species and its satisfaction detrimental to the spiritual progress of the human family."

(Harijan, 2-5-1936, p.92)

"To ask a woman to use contraceptives is to say the least putting the cart before the horse. The first thing is to free her from mental slavery, to teach her the sacredness of her body, and to teach her the dignity of rational service to humanity".

(Ibid, p.93)

"Contraceptives are an insult to womanhood. The difference between a prostitute and a woman

using contraceptives is only this, that the former sells her body to several men, the latter sells it to one man. Man has no right to touch his wife so long as she does not wish to have a child, and the woman should have the will power to resist even her husband".

(Harijan, 5-5-1946, p.118)

"It is philanthropic motive that no doubt impets many birth control reformers to a whirlwind campaign in favour of the use of contraceptives. I invite them to contemplate the ruinous consequences of their misplaced philanthropy. Those whom they want to reach will never use them in any appreciable numbers. Those who ought not to use them will, without doubt use them to the undoing of themselves and their partners. This would not matter in the least, if the use of contraceptives was incontestably proved to be right physically and morally".

(Harijan, 13-9-1936, p.244)

About sterilization Gandhi opines thus "I consider it in human to impose sterilization law on the people. But in case of individuals with chronic diseases, it is desirable to have them sterilized if they are agreeable to it. Sterilization is a sort of contraceptive and though, I am against the use of contraceptives in case of women. I do not mind voluntary sterilization in case of man since he is the aggressor."

(Amrit Bazar Patrika, 12-1-1935)

SELF-CONTROL

As against the evils of artificial methods of birth-control which he considered as sin, Gandhiji advocated self-control and abstinence.

He said, "If we begin to believe that indulgence in animal passion is necessary, harmless and sinless, we shall want to give reins to it and shall be powerless to resist it. Whereas if we educate ourselves to believe that such indulgence is harmful, unnecessary, and can be controlled, we shall discover that self-restraint is perfectly possible".

(Young India, 19-8-1926, p.289)

"My quarrel with the advocates of contraceptives lies in their taking it for granted that ordinary mortals cannot exercises self control. Some of them even go so far as to say that even if they can, they ought not to do so. To them, no matter how eminent they may be in their own spheres that I say, in all humility but with utmost confidence, they are talking without experience of the possibilities of self-control. They have no right to limit the capacity of the human soul.

And my plea, based on positive experience is that even as truth and ahimsa are not merely for the chosen few but for the whole humanity, to be practised in daily life, so exactly is self-control not merely for a few Mahatmas but for whole of humanity. And ever ask because many people will be truthful and violent, humanity will not lower its standard, so also, though many even the majority, may not respond to the message of self-control, we may not lower our standard."

(Harijan 30-5-1936, p.126)

The following is the foreword to the second edition of Self-restraint Vs Self-indulgence by Gandhiji. The foreword itself gives in a nutshell his ideas about self-control or self-restraint. For a further detailed study the students may look up this Book.

"That the first edition was sold out practically within a week of its publication is a matter of satisfaction to me. The correspondence that the series of articles collected in this volume has given rise to, shows the need of such a publication. May those who have not made self-indulgence a religion, but who are struggling to regain lost self-control, which should under normal conditions be our natural state, find some help from a perusal of these pages. For their guidance the following instructions may prove needful.

1) Remember if you are married that your wife is your friend, companion and co worker, not an instrument of sexual enjoyment.

2) Self-control is the law of your being. Therefore the sexual act can be performed only when both desire it and that too subject to rules which in their lucidity both may have agreed upon.

3) If you are unmarried you owe it to yourself, to society and to your future partner to keep yourself pure. If you cultivate this sense of loyalty, you will find it as an infallible protection against all temptation.

4) Think always of that unseen power which, though we may never see we all feel within us as watching and noting every impure thought and you will find that Power ever helping you.

5) Laws governing a life of self-restraint must be necessarily different from a life of self-indulgence. Therefore, you will regulate your society, your reaching, your haunts of recreation and your food.

You will seek the society of the good and the pure.

You will resolutely refrain from reading passion breeding novels and magazines and read the works that sustain humanity. You will make one book your constant companion for reference and guidance.

You will avoid theatres and cinemas. Recreation is where you, may not dissipate yourself but recreate yourself. You will therefore, attend bhajanmandells where the word and the tune uplift the soul.

You will eat not to satisfy your palate but your hunger. A self-indulgent man lives to eat; a self restrained man eats to live. Therefore, you will abstain from all imitating condiments, alcohol which excite the nerves, and narcotics, which deaden the sense of right and wrong. You will regulate the quantity and time of your meals.

6) When your passion threatens to get the better of you, go down on your knees and cry out to God for help. Ramanama is my infallible help. As extraneous aid take a hib bath i.e., sit in a tub

full of cold water with your legs out of it, and you will find your passion have immediately cooled. Sit in it for a few minutes unless you are weak and there is danger of a chill.

7) Take brisk walking exercise in the open air early in the morning and at night before going to bed.

8) "Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise" is a sound proverb. 9 o'clock to bed and 4 o'clock to rise is a good rule. Go to bed on an empty stomach. Therefore your last meal must not be after 6 P.M.

9) Remember that man is a representative of God to serve all that live and thus to express God's dignity and love. Let service be your sole joy and you will need no other enjoyment in life.

(Young India, 24-3-1927. p.92)

Swami Yogananda asked Gandhi, "Do you prefer self-control to birth control?" Gandhiji's answer to the question and the conversation that ensued between the two is reproduced below from, weekly letter by Mahadev Desa.

"I think artificial birth control or birth-control according to methods suggested today recommended in the West is suicidal. When I say 'suicidal' I do not mean resulting in the extinction of the race, I mean suicidal in higher sense of the term, that is to say these methods make man lower than the brute, they are immoral".

"But how long are we to tolerate indiscriminate procreation? I know a man who used to purchase a seer of milk, and went on diluting it with water in order to divide it between his children whose number increased every year. Don't you think this was sin?".

"It is a sin to bring forth unwanted children, but I think it is greater sin to avoid the consequences of one's own action. It simply unmans man.

"What then is the most practical method of telling man this truth?".

"The most practical method is to live the life of self-control. Example is better than precept".

"But the West asks us, 'Why is it that you have grater child mortality and lower life average than we, though you regard yourselves as more spiritual than the West? Do you believe in many children Mahatmaji?

"I believe in no children"

"Then the whole race will be extinct"

"It won't be extinct, it will be transformed into something better. But it can never happen, for we have inherited from eternity the sex instincts from our progenitors. It means a tremendous effort to check this habit of ages, and yet it is a simple effort. Absolute renunciation, absolute brahmacharya, is the ideal state. If you dare not think of to marry by all means, but even then live a life of self-control".

"Have you any working method to teach this to the masses?"

"It is, as I said a moment ago, to attain complete self-control and go and live that life amongst the masses. A life of self-restraint and denial of all luxuries cannot but have its effect on the masses. There is an indissoluble connection between self-control and the control of the palate. The man who observes brahmacharya will be controlled in every one of his acts and will be humble".

"I see what you mean" said the Swami, "The masses do not know the happiness of self-control and we have to teach them that. But what about the argument of the West I referred to before?".

"I do not think that we are more spiritually-minded than the West. If we were, we should not have fallen so low. But because the average life of a Westerner is much higher than ours, it does not prove the spirituality of the West. Whoever is spiritually minded must show a better, not necessarily a longer life".

(Harijan, 7-9-1935, p.234)

About married brahmacharya Gandhi says.... "The scaling of Himalayas can at best, give a temporary feeling of the elation an triumph. But the reward of the conquest of self is a spiritual bliss that knows no warning and grows ever more and more. It is a well-known maxim of the science of brahmacharya, that insemination in the case of a man, who has properly kept the rules of brahmacharya, cannot, ought not to fail to lead to conception. And this is just as it should be. When a man has completely conquered his animality, involuntary incontinence becomes impossible, and the desire for sexual gratification for its own sake ceases altogether. Sexual union then takes place only when there is a desire for off spring. This is the meaning of what has been described as "Married brahmacharya". In other words, a person who obeys this rule, though leading a married life, attains the same state as, and is equal in merit to, one who completely abstains from the sexual act, which is only a means for procreation, never for self-indulgence. In practice, it is true, this ideal is seen to be rarely realized its completeness. But in shaping our ideals we cannot think in terms of four weakness or the possible lapses. The present tendency, however, is to take a complete swing round, and the protagonists of contraceptives have almost set up self-indulgence as their ideal. Self-indulgence obviously can never be an ideal. There can be no limit to the practice of an ideal. But unlimited self-indulgence as everybody would admit, can only result in certain destruction of the individual or the race concerned. Hence, self-control alone can be our ideal, and it is has been so regarded from the earliest time. Therefore we have to explore the means of its attainment, not to circumvent it.

It has become my settled conviction that most of the difficulties that are experience in connection with the practice of brahmacharya are due to our ignorance about its laws and would themselves disappear if we discovered them. Let us, for instance, examine the poser propounded by our correspondent in the ideal light. In the ideal state, in the first place, such a contingency will never arise, because in a normally healthy couple : who have from their childhood upward observed the rules of brahmacharya, sexual union can never rove infertile. In practice, however, anomalies do arise. The only rule that can be laid down in such instances is that coitus may be permitted once at the end of the monthly period till conception is established. If is object is achieved it must be adjured forthwith

for mere sensural gratification should never be its object. It is my faith based on my experience that bodily and mental health increases in the same ratio as bodily and mental chastity. Nor is it to be wondered at. A substance that is capable of producing such a wonderful being as man can not but, when properly conserved, be transmitted into matchless energy and strength. Anyone can test the truth of this observation of the Shastras for himself by personal experience. And the rule holds goods in respect of woman no less than man. The real difficulty, however, is that we vainly expect to be free from outward manifestations of lust, while harbouring it in our minds, with the result that physically and mentally we become utter wrecks, and our lives, in the words of the Gita, become a living lie or hypocrisy personified".

(Harijan, 20-3-1937)

International Migration

S.S. Gupta says that Gandhi believed international migration for population problem. This idea came to him when he was in South Africa and was thinking of the problems of the Indians there. He felt that due to rapid advancement of communication and transport, the world is shrinking fast and people are becoming more and more cosmopolitan in outlook. If migration of population is carried on the basis of mutual gains; the international relations will also improve and it will also bring the Mulatto dream nearer realization. Hence not as labourers and inferiors and immigrants adopt the country they are migrating to as their own.

Ashramvyavastha

It may be a good solution for the population growth. But how quick and practicable will be taken into account. Gandhi felt that if people of a particular age themselves decide to wind up their personal and family affairs and devote more and more time to social service the social tensions will automatically decrease. Gandhi wrote : "The institution of your ashrams enable us better to fulfill the purpose of life..."

(Young India, 17-11-1927)

Conclusion

Modern experts may conclude that the ideas of Gandhi on birth and population control are utopia, perhaps even outmoded and impractical. It will be of interest to the students to go through the controversial discussion on the topic by Manmathnath Gupta in his Gandhi and His times.

After all said and done we have to admit that finally we have to come round to Gandhi for our succor. Gandhi was a practical dealist. He was not sitting on an ivory tower. His feet were strongly rooted in the sand.

Gandhi considered marriage as the spiritual union through physical. Marriage for sexual appetite was no marriage, for him. He quotes Manu saying that the first born was dharmaja and the children born after that are kamaja, lust born.

He said that undefiled love between husband and wife takes one nearer to God than any other love. When Sex is mixed with the underfiled love, it takes one away from one's Maker. The purpose of human birth is to realise God and defiled love or marriage of sex is an impediment in the path of the search of Brahman.

Gandhi strove to see God face to face. Service to humanity was the path that led him to God. He felt that one who employs himself in service to humanity should never have the feller of family. This contemplation made him take the vow of celibacy. He knew and had confessed that the path celibacy is like walking on the edge of a sword. Nevertheless he marched on towards the light undauntedly without casing a look backwards. He was of the opinion that once people's morality and their physical and moral well being was taken care of economic betterment will follow. Spirituality to him was the breath that sustained his life. We have been ascetics renouncing the world and leading brahmacharya life, in our country. Perhaps in the history of our nation, Gandhi was the sole example who kept his touch with humanity yet was an ascetic. He voice is sure to be prophetic.

The following extract is from The Coiled serpent chapter "Continence".

Continence : The word is not used here loosely to denote moderation, in which sense it is so often applied to the very flexible more standard of most people. "By continence is meant the voluntary and entire abstinence from sexual indulgence in any form".

1. "Stoic continence is meant; absolute abstinence except for purpose of propagation; 'abstinence' not from the gratification of the impulse... but also from mental and tactile caresses and from all abnormal practices".

2. All such "dalliance is not abstinence"

3. And because "continence is not compatible with sexual excitement".

4. Of any kind, "it must involve a permanent abstention from indulgence in erotic imaginations and voluptuous reverie".

5. "From any of the factors which arouse the sexual passion".

6. Perfect "sexual continence.... as an ideal to be striven for... cannot be dismissed as a mere monk-made superstition".

7. Even for the most materialistic purposes the value of abstinence has been generally acknowledged. It has always been a rule for athletets while training for contests and prize events. "This fact about athletes has been often positively affirmed by the ancients".

8. And strict abstinence is still adhered to in current days in the preparation of participants for prize fights, league ball games and similar sports. During the period of intensive training sexual excitement "is the one thing which is rigidly excluded".

9. Clearly it is considered worth while and possible even for the most full blooded and hard-muscled men to be content for a certain period for the sake of a chain to win a prize in a competitive contest. It will be found to be much more worth while and just as possible, in the longer period of training for the acquisition of the inestimable prize of an expanded consciousness. This as the prize which every one can win; for the feeling of control and power produced by continence plays its part in the production of spiritual insight.

10. For spiritual results. However, it must include an obliteration of sexual craving. After an experimental period of an observance of continence the next step will most naturally come in the form of its permanent continuance. For it is only logical that "What is profitable for a time should be always practised, that it may be always profitable".

11. Or "shall one be willing only to abstain from what is ordinarily deemed pleasure for the sake of a victory in wrestling and the like and ... be incapable of a similar abstinence for the sake of a much nobler victory which is the noblest of all?"

12. "There are enough sexual stories in the world to prove by experience that continence is not only possible but also practical"

13. As every competent and responsible authority asserts, it does no harm to the individual".

14. "No one was ever yet in the slightest degree the worse for perfect continence".

15. Where other factors do not counteract its salutary influence there is "exuberance of health, life and intelligence to be observed among chaste people".

16. The more continently one lives the better work one can produce because in body and mind "energy is gained by the establishment of continence".

17. It enlivens perception.

18. "One who consistently lives the continent life-wins a power of concentration that is unknown to one who trifles with the sex impulses."

19. Thus for instance the abstinent scientist can devote more of his energy to study.

20. "Accomplishing greater results. And this applies analogically to any profession, to any accomplishment. Only those who have left the animal man entirely behind are able to do the best work in many spheres of life".

21. Hence for the most matter-of fact reasons one can follow no more excellent rule of life than to "acquire continence as the greatest wealth"

22. And what makes this rule of paramount value is that at the same time "One can save the spiritual store in the body by observing continence".

LESSONS : 6 - 8

ALIENATION, DEHUMANIZATION AND CORRUPTIONS - THE HUMAN CENTRED GANDHIAN SOCIOLOGY - THE ETHICAL AND MORAL CRISIS AND THE GANDHIAN ETHICS.

Under three Units "Social Reality - An Analysis", "The Global predicament" and "The Antidote and The Prophet" maladies of modern societies are analysed.

Unit 1. Societal Reality; An Analysis

Overview

In this unit the major headings are two : - (A) Analysis and (B) Norms of remedial measures,

In the faith that life is good, analysis of the contemporary society is made by Gandhi. The true aspects of the social reality and the consequent unit norms that ought to be adopted in any consideration of remedial measure for the reconstruction of humanity are discussed.

Preview Questions :

(i) In What faith is analysis of the societal reality made?

(ii) Narrate the ills of modern societies, unto what are they to be traced?

(iii) What standpoints are adopted by Karl Marx and Gandhi in their analysis?

(iv) What are the questions relevant in this context?

(v) Point out the unique remedial thoughts and the relevant norms that are to be adopted.

(vi) Show how the Gandhian methodology is not in anyway different from that of modern scientists - integral approach in studying human behaviour and society.

(vii) Assess the impact of Gandhi in the light of a few prospective critics.

(viii) Enumerate the recent trends in the civilized west and show how they make the study of Gandhi quite relevant.

Unit - 2. The Global Predicament

Overview

After an analysis of social reality we lay bare unit the global predicaments under heads.

The predicaments at a glance : the unhealthy patterns of human settlement, the crisis in the political organization of the people, the malaise in the economic aspects of social life, and the one

sideness of the concept of basic needs are highlighted only to demonstrate that ours is a civilization built willy-nilly around the stress on the animality of man. Thus missing the 'human'. In man it makes for alienation, violence, exploitation and dehumanization only to find a fitting finale in the de-naturing of Nature itself. The crisis of our age is shown to be the climax of centuries of abstraction that has gone into championing causes without any thought of man in the concrete.

Preview questions.

1. **The Predicaments at a glance**

   (i) What factors occasion the global consciousness?

   (ii) In general what are the predicaments in themselves?

   (iii) To what man's attitude is the cure of technology to be traced?

2. **The unhealthy pattern of settlement**

   (iv) Bring out the salient features of the world-population trends?

   (v) Demonstrate how these treads bring about the attrition of human life?

   (vi) Explain why the movement of people from rural to urban areas

   (a) has been made possible.

   (b) has become inevitable.

3. **The crisis of the age**

   (vii) It is all a crisis of faith-faith in forms and not in character : Explain.

   (viii) Politically what are the major into which the world has been organized?

   (ix) Attempt at a critique of the age in terms of experts in the study of modern life and society.

The malase in the economic structure

   (x) Liberty viz. economic is a failure, why?

   (xi) Show how totalitarian trends militate against individual liberty and integrity.

   (xii) Explain that whatever be the mitigating riogur of Socialism its direction is not any different from that of communism.

   (xiii) Enumerate that malaise in the World of Economics are to be traced to the ownership of land as private property.

5. Basic needs : An analysis

(xiv) Examine on what grounds the primacy of material wants is sought to be established.

(xv) Show how the notion of "basic Needs" undermines all values and endeavour of human beings?

(xvi) Norms of economics cannot be in terms of economics - Explains?

Unit - 3

The Antidote : Man in the concrete and the prophet

Over view

The paradox of progress and the paradise of problems that the modern world, is shown to be in forgetting man in the concrete. It is from this one single construct the requisite dimensions of the cultural paradigm of the future ages to be derived.

Preview Questions :

(i) By what subtle arguments, is the primacy of individual sought to be jeopardized.

(ii) to society and to the state.

(iii) Show how the Gandhian conception enshrines the wisdom of the ages.

The main-springs of the cultural model of the ages to come are to be found in the thought of man in the concrete Explain.

Societal Reality : An analysis

Analysis :

Ultimate assumption :

"Life is God and the proof of it is life itself" writes Dr.Radhakrishnan in his "Idealist view of life". Gandhi literally lived upto this ultimate assumption of life.

Reckoning God as a fact of experience in existence and life Gandhi's conviction in Ahimsa or love was born. It is taken as the only means open for the task of reconstruction of humanity. Not to be true to this common bond of truth and non-violence amounted to Gandhi to tear God himself to pieces.

Albert Schweitzer draws out attention to the magnificent obsession of Gandhi when he says, "Gandhi continued what the Buddha began. In the Buddha the spirit of love set itself the task of creating different spiritual conditions in the world; In Gandhi it undertakes to transform all worldly conditions".

Laying bare the societal reality :

A civilization which has sold its soul to Mephistophelian materialism will find its corrective paradigm in Gandhi's model. Modern society is caught in the conflict between affluence and happiness in the death of God, communities view with one another in fighting up in drunken sky say sun that pleases. A dehumanising alienation corroding the very life of man is inescapable both in the capitalist bourgeois establishment of western democracies and in the rigid totalist establishments of Communist East.

Gandhi's mission and message are relevant because his purpose was global in its sweep. It was to help humanity see the central truth-the foremost societal reality of our times. Implications of certain basic social, economic and political Institutions of the world made him realise that they brought heavy pressure, on individuals and reduced vast majority of the people to position of servitude and poverty. He discovered exploitation in several institutions occupying key positions in society. Over organisations led to disintegration of individuals. Large industries and urban growth undermined the values and structures of a true civilization. It made men subservient to machines and systems deprived them of the right of self-actualization and led to monopoles of various kinds, concentration of wealth, power and privileges, monopolistic consumption and soaring standards of living only for a few, were some of the by products of this setup.

Exploitation was for him the evil genius of the whole age leading to centralization of power and resources. It was individual as well as societal, it meant exploitation of men by men, of institution by institution, of men by institution as also of institution and systems by individuals, groups and classes. The hard-core of intra-societal relationship is exploitation with multifacted structure. Political, economic and psychological exploitation, both societal and individual, has tarnished the image of the society as a whole.

Gandhi analysed the social realities of his time and enumerated the problems which were confronting the people and saw all these from the point of view of oppressed and the victims of the societal process. Unlike Mars, Gandhi's main concern was not so much historical analysis of contemporary events as with the social phenomenon. Truth for Gandhi was a reflex of reality, it refers to a state where men could be at great care with their environment and acquire a decisive control of the decision-making apparatuses of society in a manner that guarantees the higher possible opportunity for self-expression to the participants in the process.

As professor Naess put it, Gandhi's truth meant freedom of selfactualization for societal development. In this venture a new set of roles, goals, norms and institutions that would provide the best possible opportunity for self expression to all were discovered.

Gandhi's analysis of exploitation revealed that the central ethos of society was violence. Exploitation, over organization cut throat competition and personal aggrandisement lay at its bottom providing the roots of all unrest.

Questions raised : Questions of fundamental value were raised by Gandhi as result of his

social analysis. Primarily it was the question of man's relationship with his own creation, such as machines megalopolis economic institutions and political organization and the social processes which establish organisations, revolutionize productive techniques etc.,

Other questions raised were : What should be the aims of a developmental process? Should it help the rich and the powerful first and then the others or aim to overturn the social pyramid in favour of "unto this last?" In what type of an organisation would the exploitative devises be the least operative? What should be the structure and functions of the new polity and economy in which individuals would find their fullest development and the institutions defy the control of vested interests? The relationship between national governments and their local and global counterparts techniques of economic and social development which do not leave behind a great many underprivileged but emphasis the objectives of equity and revolutionary method of social transformation which could bring into existence the new society in the shorted possible times, these were some of the problems raised in this context.

Remedial Norm :

Unique remedies : To eschew exploitation in forms, it will be a nonviolent society with props of an economy of permanence and a polity of peace. Decentralization as against over organisation would be its corner-stone and the institutional frame work required for its upkeep must provide for direct democratic control in as many spheres of life as possible. The members of such a society including the elite should voluntarily limit their wants and curtail excessive use of consumer goods on the basis of self abnegation, so that such delimitation would bring about an equalitarian society.

Gandhi's difference from other revolutionaries that society had seen lies in the choice of the methods. It is qualitatively so difference from any attempted any where so far so that if substantially negates the truth of Hegell's terrible epigram "It is from history we learn anything from history". He will not use hate to end all hatred, conflicts to end all conflicts or for that matter force to reckon with force, war to end all wars, violence to fight violence. He would not repeat history, but will create history. If violence mean hatreds exploitation over organisation, centralisation of power and resources, and the use of force. Gandhian nonviolence provided the very antithesis to all these. Non violence did not mean surrender, to evil; a compromise with those who allowed themselves to be used as the tools of exploitation of soil force, Satyagrahas.

Yet another distinct difference that Gandhi makes is in his understanding of the social reality in all its three dimensions of personality, society and culture. Personality is the structure of the individual human being as he relates himself so the social world. Society is the not work of relation among groups much as races, class, kinship groups, generations and the ways in which sanctions take place among them through economic, political and social institutions.

Culture is the symbol system shared by members of the society. Culture defines reality. It gives meaning to events and inherent in it are "thou shalts" and the "thou shalt nots" which make all of social life tinged with moral implications.

Various other theories of social change and reconstruction of humanity have emphasized one or another of these three dimensions. Scholars who see history as a succession of great men or heroes, emphasize the personality dimension. To Carlyle history is nothing, but the biography of great men. This tradition is boistered by Sigmund Freud. The classical Marxists have emphasized the societal dimension especially in its economic institutions and the social structure deriving from them. Artists, poets and philosophers rend to emphasise the importance of the culture dimension. If one changes the values of a society one is sure of having the key to the rest.

Gandhi, it will be seen, insists on nonviolence as the only norm in all the three dimensions of social reality. Accepting personality changes Gandhi, exploits the role of education, psychology and religious salvation that will become an ahimsa yoga. Advancing societal change, Gandhi argues for a swadeshi economy, technological innovation that will not undermine human values and experimentation with new political structures. Adumbrating cultural change, Gandhi pleads for sarvodaya, bread labour, khadi culture and a host of other values and conditions to promote Ahimsa.

Increasingly, we find a consensus in social studies that all three of these dimensions are important to effect a change in human society and that they are interdependent and indispensable. Pitrin A Sorakin, Talcoft, Parsons and Philip Rieff make much of these three dimensions in sociology, Clyde Kiuchhoba in anthropology, Erik Erikson in psychology, Kenneth Boulding in economics are the others accepting this triune dimension of social reality. Gandhi therefore is presaging the three promoted dimensions of social change.

Estimate : Gandhi not only accounted for the total global reality of his times but also suggested remedies for social life. Hence Geoffery Ashe observes that everybody on earth has been affected by Gandhi. Gandhi drew more from the needs of the people, from the confrontations, he had with the contemporary folk cultures of his people and the very struggles he had to wage. With a commitment to elevate the race of mankind perse and a determined will to learn from the global environment. Gandhi's environment of social problems and his endeavours to provide the national of the new society were like wise articulations of global goal. It is because the longwinding path of world civilization is today moving increasingly towards the cherished themes of Gandhian thought. Erik Erikson chooses to call Gandhi "a model of activism in our culture".

The vindication : The "NIEO" of UNO is New International Economic. Order founded in 1974. In the First World Game Seminar at the University of Detroit in 1971, Richard Buckminster Fuler explained his brain-child "World Game". His scientific alternative to politics and humanization of community became an accepted thesis by moderns like of Richard Nisbet. Erich From and Karl Mannheim. To find an alternative to the central is and extremely individualistic paradigm of modern civilization. The concept of "Limits to Growth" and "Equilibrium State" are very recent in their origins. Intermediate Technology Development Group argues for a technology with a human face and was started some ten years ago by a London group of professionals with extensive overseas experience. Deinstitutionalising education and De-schoolers society are recent, intellectual speculations that have as yet no experimental basis. The most significants among de-schoolers are Ivan lillich. Paul Goodman and Reimer. GWS is "Growing Without Schooling", a work by John Holk published in 1977.

These several isolated movements that are taking place all over the world may not all be wholly Gandhian in approach. Nor did the sponsers of these movements learn their lessons from Gandhi. That is immaterial, if one understands how correct Gandhi's reading of social reality is and realises how his paradigm has lessons to teach architects, braving a new world. It is little wonder. Stanley Jones pays a growing tribute to Gandhi when he writes :"Gandhi brought to focus in himself universal principle. These principles are as the law of gravitation".

II

GLOBAL PREDICAMENT

At a glance

As life is an aspiration and as man has that in him which will not be satisfied with anything short of perfection, the predicament of man is unending. No solutions are good or final all time. Unless rooted in the spirit of man, no lasting solution can be had.

World unity : ***The Need :*** The Neighbourhood brought about by science is yet to grow into a brotherhood of humankind. There are unmistakable signs of the world becoming a single entry. The whole nature of human enterprise is undergoing a transformation.

Factors Negative : Most basic issue, the management of conflict with respect to its scale and canvas gets defined profoundly in a different manner. It is realised as a world-wide predicament. All actors in it and perhaps most of all the weakest and the most deprived among them, need to think in terms that will cover all men, all societies. The end of Coloninalism, the unprecedented increase of population, the urgency of the economic problem, the sudden sense of the bounties of nature drying up and a feeling of scarcity of basic resources in the place of a feeling of continuous progress and abundance for all point to a scenaric of growing conflict that will become world wide in scope, and to the need to work new solutions based on a high degree of human co-operation.

Scarcity : A new kind of violence, internal and external with the enormous economic gap dividing the rich and poor countries has emerged. With the all encompassing structure of dominance, and dependence the formerly independent and theoretically equal states are almost died inextricably. And above all, with a large increase in inequality in the world as a result of modern technology to which only the strong have access and which has led to a concerning of world resources by those who are already rolling in plenty rather than those who are most in need, violence looms large.

Positive : If the above are negative factors demanding a worldview, the positive factor is the general fact that human beings while still retaining their primary identities also become active members of large common wealths encompassing hundreds of millions of people. They are capable of loyalties to these longer entities. They have proved capable of constructing political and territorial systems of different types with which they are closely identified. The capacity for wider identifies and arrangements has grown an allegiance towards abstract entities like nation states and still larger entities and geopolitical regions.

Nation State : In achieving, stable conditions and making possible wider loyalties and peaceful civil society possible, the nationstate ideal has played an enormous role. Equally important has been the economic use to which both the appropriation of nature and the conquest of territory have been put. The age of imperialism pushed the slow moving. Industrial Revolution into the age of affluence. Building upon the achievements of the nation states of Europe was this structure of economic and political expansion providing raw materials and ready market from the colonial land.

Ideological conflict : Conflicts of a global scope and dimension have arisen. Changing perceptions on the human crisis are evidenced. Till recently the crisis perceived in terms of an ideological struggle between different ways of life and systems of belief. Not infrequently it is associated with a struggle for power between rival blocks of countries. Commonly it is understood as a struggle between communism and capitalism. A very large part of human energy and world resources are devoted to this conflict.

As the race for arms is the continuous threat of a nuclear war is becoming increasingly real. Eintein, Rusell, Huxley, Toynbee are seized of the single dimension of threat to humanity.

Schism : Affluence scarcity : By the mid-sixties attention gets focussed on the great schism that is dividing the world into extremes of affluence and deprivation. Consentration of poverty, scarcity, unemployment and deprivation in one vast section of human kind and of over abundance, over-productions and over consumption another and much smaller section of the species, both tied together in a relationship in which resources from the poorer regions have been drained our and continued to be drained through new instruments of appropriation. It is inequity on a global scale.

Parodoxes : A century of unprecedented material progress has also been one of sprawling misery and increasing deprivation. An age which had seen the end of empires and the dawn of independence for so many nations has also turned out to be an age of increasing domination of the world by a few powers. Despire agricultural production ahead of population growth, food availability has become a serious problem for millions of people. More generous immigration policies of rich countries with low densities have become in effect policies of sucking in the most skilled technical man-power from the poorer regions.

The divisions are more fundamental than being merely ideological, military or economic. Perhaps there is something wrong with the basic model of life.

Knowledge as power : The course, crucial to the model life in the Baconian conception of knowledge. His magic words are "knowledge is power". Knowledge has become as instrument of power and domination. Man has lost sight of the perception that knowledge is the liberator of the human spirit. Truth shall make you free in Bible. Science gone on a rampage for continuous domination, exploitation, competition and perpetual tension between man and man, and society, man and nature, man and environment perse.

Myth of perpetual progress : The myth of perpetual progress of the aggressive in the West has been exploded. The affluent world itself faces the spectre of scarcity. It is expressed in terms of environmental crisis.

Dehumanization : This environmental crisis itself is only a symptom of a very basic change in relationship-from man's reliance on nature to man's dependence on machinery. The domination of man by machine and his dependence on it for his sustenance means not just the constant and his continuous need for energy and raw materials. It also entails less and less need for human beings. Millions and millions are only marginal men and women, people for whose society has no use. The upshot is that man himself has become superficial and obsolescent, cheap and mean that he is being looked upon as a burden not on only nature but also on society. The human forest is to be pruned. In technical terms Joseph Stalin called it 'human engineering. Humankind today is so badly a divided species that with its instruments of mutual destructions its very survival is a big question mark.

Neglect future generations : Added to this dualism of the world along the dimensions of space and region is the division between generations. It is the division between the present and the future. The future include both the very young among us and the yet unborn generations. The future consequence of present action were never as irreversible and hence ethically relevant as they are today. The consequences of what the other generations did the ravaging of nature, the deplection of resources, the pollution of environment, the pattern of investment, the stockpilling of ornaments, the building of highly centralized economic and political structures are being felt by the younger generations of today sacrifice of postponed greatflication in the present so that the future generations can live a better life is prudential planning. Man is doing exactly the opposite. In gratifying his present needs man is sacrificing the changes of future generations, it is a growing alienation a schism between the generation.

Lack of harmony : Life and nature : Beyond the extension of sympathy and identity across regions and over the horizon of time, there are still other issues of ethical relevance. What has man done to other species and forms of life as well as to inanimate nature? With everythingelse man, in reality is united through a common organic bond. Without their health and adundance his own survival is at stake. Man destroys various other species, vegetation, gasseous, and chemical sources of life and sea beds and rock lands, whose bountry has been the causes of so much imagination and sense of unity and joy and creativity. With the unending acquisitiveness, decline in his sensitivity to his owe kind-and to other forms of life, the deprivity of the human being is complete.

Transformation : Social forms : The predicament that man faces a basic, he needs to move beyond all the structure. He has created - territorial, socio-economic, technological and in respect of patterns of consumption. All break-throughs whether of steel, electricity, or oil or of newer forms of energy that all being desperately investigated right now or temporary and cannot take the place of a fundamental restructuring of social forms in keeping with the basic needs of human personalities.

Depravity total : The divisions that face us are far sharper than ever; the grim division between the dominent and dependent nations which also encompass the division because the rich and the poor and between the urbanized metropolises and the rural peripharies, the serious division between the super powers and their continuously proliferations, war machine and silence structures and above all the divisions between an increasingly dehumanalizing human being and an increasingly denaturalized nature.

UNHEALTHY PATTERNS OF HUMAN SETTLEMENT

The Trends :

World population reached its first thousand million in 1850; its second thousand million about eighty years later in 1930; its third thousand million about 30 years later in 1960; and is almost at its fourth thousand million in 1976 a mere sixteen years later. Demographers anticipate the addition of a further 2,000 million people during the reminder of this century. Of the 3,500 million are expected to accrue to the so called developing countries.

Half the World : By the end of the century nearly half the world, population would be living in urban areas with symptoms of socia. break-down in many of them, the rising crime rates, the failure of so called urban renewal and so forth.

It will be agreed that this patterns of settlement in a far cry from what an ideal pattern should be. Schumacher holds that the ideal pattern is one which equalises the opportunities of town life and country life to the maximum extent.

Not communities : Colony of "insects" : Kingley Davis, renowned student of urbanisation, says that the large and dense agglomerations comprising the urban population involve a degree of human contact and of social complexity never before known. They exceed the size of the communities of any larger animal. They suggest the behaviour of communal insects rather than of mammals.

The problem of urbanisation of this kind is expressed by the French planners, when they say that the whole of France is upcoming "Paris surrounded by a desert".

Unto the more populated : The movement is not from over crowded areas into places with plenty of "lebensraum", but on the contrary from the less to more over crowded places from the periphery to the centre. For example ten to fifteen million foreign workers and their families are moving into densely populated Western Europe. It is from rural into cities into the megalopolitan areas, from there to the city of a country which is at a "higher" level of development.

Decay of Life : Rural areas, what is the attraction? "Barring a few" attraction to the urban way of life cannot explain this movement. It cannot be true of the millions of poor people, the slum dwellers, the degraded and forgotten masses. It is not out of free choice million become migrant workers and slum dwellers.

Of course this measurement of urbanisation has become possible because of two reasons : (a) basically the exploitation of nature's store house of fossil-coal aiding rail transport. Oil that of motor transport and with their fast depletion leading to a search for other sources of fuel and energy (b) development of agricultural technologies which are virtually dependant on oil.

The force that move people into the slums of monster cities are to be found in the decay of life outside them. Unless the process of decay is stopped and reversed a catastrophic deterioration in the condition of humankind cannot be averted. Agriculture gets reduce into mono culture, rural areas

are being depopulated and devitalized. This is not only in developing countries but in the many highly industrialized countries as well. Agriculture that was a solar system with cottage. Industries and handicrafts as clusters of planets revolving around has become a single star, a monoculture with an emphasis of it on industry what with the use of tractors, fertilizers, machinery, pump sets etc., However successful in raising productivity per man, the attendant disadvantages in terms of the health of soil, plant, animal and man use the price that we pay.

Technology : The Evil : This decay, depopulation and devitalisation is to be explained in terms of the development of technology. Technological development almost invariably leads to – (i) excessive size (ii) excessive complexity (iii) excessive capital-costliness and (iv) excessive violence. This development has affected all aspects of human life. It has created unheard of and ever growing fuel and energy requirements, it has led to wide spread seemingly insoluble problems of social discontent and crime and violence largely owing to the destructions of work satisfaction in many occupation. When we see how technology shapes man, his pattern of settlement, his life style and also determines the source of the political systems, we have to agree with Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels suggesting that man's consciousness changes with every changes in the condition of the material existence in his social relations and in his social life.

A country with unhealthy pattern of settlement is as vulnerable as pyramid balancing on its apex; it can at any moment fall into total disorder.

The crisis of the age from character to forms :

In the ancient world thinkers dealing with political and social problems where more concerned with the character of the rule while in the modern period beginning in the late 1700s they become more interested in types of Government.

The king is expected to practise the same virtue as his subjects. He is to be honest, compassionate and wise. He must be self-controlled and just. He must not be a hedonist or a pleasure seeker. He must be a paragon of virtue, an embodiment of Dharma.

But in the modern period especially in the 19th and 20th centuries, ideology centred upon political and social virtues, individual freedom or liberty, social equality and justice. The emphasis is more upon the individual's right than his/her duties, it is a philosophy of self-assertion, not renunciation.

Forms of Government :

Egalitarian institutions replaced absolutistic or patternalistic social and political institutions. Absolute monarchies gave place to constitutional monarchies. The growth of people's democracies or parliamentary or constitutional forms of government has come to stay. Government are formed by the people using the franchise as the means.

Parallel to his development there is an ever diminishing emphasis on personal morality. When

the "Age of the Common Man" was ushered in during the 18th country, it was believed that the millennium envisioned by man would be realized through democratic institutions. But great discrepancies and paradoxes exists. They have not disappeared even from democratic nations.

Totalitarian Trends

Democratic nations kill and slaughter as want only as totalitarian states. The only difference is that they rationalise it in terms of justice, freedom peace etc., it was a democracy which developed and dropped the first atom bomb. There is nothing in democracy purse or in democracy an a form of institution which guarantees its people being, more peaceful and being. They may be as immoral as other type of Government.

Assuring that man is evil and causes be trusted, nations too have become suspicious of one another and expediency the only code of public conduct.

Imperialistic :

Democratic nations too are no less imperialistic. Only it assumes different forms, Colonial empires have place to economic domination. Racial prejudice, greed, selfishness, indifference, poverty, crime, etc., are widely prevalent in democracies as well.

The dangers to liberty and democracy arise from the matrix of the technological industrial complex. Reinforced by the mass media of control and power made available by technology democracies bring into birth a tempting totalitarianism which working in subtle psychological and clandestine ways, steam colors the individuals into a procrustion should of its own making a subordinate the synesthetic for the allurement of the senses, the moral for the practical it scarifies the values of humanity for a mess of pottage.

No citizens :

The industrial system converts citizen into consumers of the goods it produce. It establishes and maintains its subtle and surreptitious domination over the entire society converting luxuries of yesterday into necessities of today. It involves colossal wastage of human and material resources and spells danger not only to the rights and freedoms of the citizens but to his very identify and individuality.

Bernard Shaw

That all democracies got debased plutocracies is the finding of a whole host of social scientists. Even if one ignores Karl Marx, we have the protest by Bernard Shaw against the vulgarization of the democratic ideal by the power of the money bag. Shaw writes, "Plutocracy has brought and swallowed democracy money talks, money prints, money broadcasts, money reigns and kings and laborers alike have to register its decrease used even to finance its enterprises and guarantee its profits. Democracy is no longer bought, it is liked.

Herhert Marcose

The Industrial system in demorcracies represents a confusion of one minor department of life with the whole of life, confusion of means with ends. Marcose in his One Dimensional Man observes; "In modern technological society free institutions and democratic liberties are used to limit freedom, repress individuality, disguises exploitation and limit the scope of human experience. It controls society through the manipulation of false needs created by vested interest".

Warfare state

Critics point out that democratic welfare state is but a "Warfare state" or a state unfreedom because its total administration is systematic restriction of (a) technically available free time (b) the quantity and quality of goods and services technically available for vital individual needs and (c) the intelligence capable of comprehending and realising the possibilities of self determination.

Marshall Mcluhan

Marshall Mcluhan points to the rising danger to the individuality of man and his rights. Waves of physic invasion best individuality into a ghost form which the system has chosen for it. The success of these onslaughts is evident in the craving he feels for the thing the system produces. It is remarkable that nobody wants a motorcar till there are motor cars, and nobody is interested in T.V., until T.V. Programmes were made.

Lonely Crowd

Jose Ortega Y.Gasset in his Man and Crisis writes: We have abandoned ourselves to our people and we live in a state of otherness constantly deceiving and defrauding ourselves. We are afraid of our own life which is synonymous with solitude and we fee, from it genuine reality, from this effort it demands we hide our ownselves behind the selves of other people, we disguise ownselves behind society. "The Lonely Crowd" of David Riesman is that we have in the place of human societies.

Galbraith

Galbraith points out that the dynamics of society are inimical to the prospects of leisure. There is an increased demand for over time work and the companion willingness supply it. While his precursor in the steel towns worked to make a living, the present worker works to satisfy his constantly expanded wants.

Inevitable end

Democratic or communist, both systems tend to be totalitarian. They organize man in a centralized system, in large factories, political mass parties. Everybody is a cog in the machine and has to function smoothly. Psychological conditioning, mass suggestion monetary rewards, use of terror are the tools resorted to Erich Fromm puts it, "The West develops rapidly in the direction of Huxley's Brave New World the East is today Orwell's 1984. But both systems tend to coverage".

THE MALAISE IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURES OF VARIOUS CULTURES AND PEOPLE

Four Worlds

The 'Fourth World' is a concept inspired largely by the writings of E.F. Schumacher, author of Small is Beautiful. It embraces small nations, groups, working for their autonomy and independence at all levels. They are united in a common struggle against the giantism of the institutions of today's mass society.

However when one designates a social system as Communist, Socialist, Capitalist and Fourth World, they suggest a political connotation. Paying attention to the economic aspects will reward us with more clarity and meaning. Providing a base for realism and understanding.

Paying the way to the Community

Economic is the science of survival. It is that area of experience dealing with the production and production and distribution of wealth. One of them is Capitalism. It is liberty via Economics, liberty resulting from economic arrangements.

Western capitalism is in shambles. The citizens are subject to more laws, more regulations more federal control at the loss of local and direct community of life and affairs.

This trend has proliferated since 1900 especially since 1930. It is largely because the individualist approach to economics and survival (Capitalism) did not extend its comfort and affluence to every one Involuntary unemployment appeared Bank failures and economic depressions appeared every decade. Too many heads of families were without a pay cheque of lived in fear of being without one.

They ways developed to deal with recurring unemployment. The victims of Capitalism's fault turned to crime stealing and violence. The beneficiaries of capitalism gave generously to the needy food clothing, shelter, education. But when benevolence was inadequate, then citizens turned to the government for taxed support that is taking from those who have and giving to those who have not.

Not all recipients of both charity and government pensions and social security do like it. The pride and integrity are threatened. To them dependence is a threat and an insult. They cherish not just survival but living via their own effort and energy.

Eventually, many came to accept this help. Necessary and repetition can and do change self confidence. In time, government help was accepted evens ought after, many demanded with notable decline on loss of the integrity of self-maintenance.

This coincides with the fact that in many parts of the world people think the governmental answer to problem of "how shall people survive? Is a proper and good one?" They argue that in a complex world, government is necessary and that justice can be attained by loss and government regulations in the distribution wealth.

Communism

Some countries have moved in full scale at other pattern. The Russians did it by fiat of government edict and violence. They call it communism. Most of Russian people accept, praise, promote and presumably enjoy it. This resulting guaranteed livlihood as better than enforced disparity of poverty and riches under the Czars. Enforced collective ownership of land and capital i.e., Communism is an answer to the universal problem of how shall a human being survive?

Through ballots :

A second alternative moves in the same direction. But it would do this by vote electorate. First it would teach the people economics of public ownership of goods and services. They would avoid armies, violence and government edicts. This more temperate and gradual approach to governmental answer is something which many called Socialism. A dozen kinds of socialism are proposed-Democratic Socialism, People's Socialism. Workers socialism etc., Many countries in Europe, Asia and south America, have organized their economies socialistically.

A Variation

Western Capitalism was from the beginning geared to avoid governmental action and it is a third recognised answer. They seek the Independence of individualism attained through private property title to land and earnings, title to business and factories and title to capital and wages.

What went wrong? Why the bank failures and economic depression? Why is Capitalism changing to a predominantly government oriented Socialistic system?

The Economic factors of production are land, labour and tools. Another term for tools, equipments, money building is capital.

Land

What about land? What about rights and title to natural resources? Did any human being produce it? People produced products from land on the land in both rural and urban settings. But the land itself? Who has little to own and sell that?

Promoters of a fourth World hold that all natural resources are nature created or God made. But differing fertility natural resources yield differing amounts to the same labour or differing amounts to the same labour on differing sites. No man made fertility must be shared.

Lands also respond in desirability to community factors. Land's value goes up if good street, sewers, schools, markets fire and police protection are-nearby. Did the land holder create this value? For centuries it is said yes. Is this an ethical answer?

Land is a limited resource and its value soared. It leads to exploitative situation. For example in America about 5% of the population owns 5% of all American land. The top one percent owns more land than the rest of whole population together. Seventy percent of our population lives on two

percent of the land all this because land is considered property, subject to private title buying and selling.

Alternative way

Perceiving the crucial differences between land and products of labour, promoters of a fourth solution to the economic survival arrange treating land as a common heritage. They suggest land should be held not for buying and selling; put as a trust for users in current and future generations. Contracting parties use the land for an agreed on annual rental paid to trust, rather than a purchase price.

Ralph Borsodi, founder of the School of Living in his life-time (1886-1977) initiated the community land trust in 1932 near Dayton, Ohio. In 1968 the Community Land Trust was internationalized and registered. Borsodi distinguished property from Trusty.

Citizens from many places have implemented this fourth system in Alberta, Canada, in New Zealand, in Australia, Denmark etc. The salubrious effects are widely discussed.

The Two Systems

In the two main economic systems of the twentieth century altruism has no place. One of them is highly competitive, the other is opponent, is violent. In each the fine ends justify the means which may destroy those in its path. In the last quarter of this century we have seen a new economics emerging with an explicit value perspective. Increasingly we find Western Economist calling attention to the common interests of humanity rather than the national interest. Lester Brown's Book in the Human Interest (1974) one of the many, indicates the trend UN General Assembly, Declaration on the Establishment of New's International Economist Order (NIEO) in 1974, is yet another pointer.

Developing nations :

In the developing countries despite growth of GNP and agricultural as well as industrial production the development has not been successful in solving the human problems of income and employment.

The level of unemployment has increased. The investments in the various economic activities is not able to absorb even the new entrants to the labour force much less absorb the already staggering backlog of unemployment. All the available evidence - suggest that the total number of unemployed persons has increased. The ILO estimates that 40% of the working force was either unemployed or underemployed in developing market economies in 1975. Not only is the magnitude of the unemployed or underemployed people at large, its rate of growth is also positive and high.

The incomes of a large section of the population have not kept pace with prices with the result that a very large number of people have become poor. The ILO estimate is that there were 1,210 millions seriously poor and 706 million destitutes in 1971. These approximately two thirds and two fifths of the population respectively by and large poverty is defined as the income which cannot buy

2,000 calories a day. So defined narrowly these figures underestimate poverty. The growth of poverty has also been positive and rather high.

There has been an increasing wide gulf between the rich and the poor. The economic system has made the rich, richer and the poor, poorer. The income inequalities have widened. These inequalities now are so large that in many countries they pose a serious threat to their political stability and social welfare.

Developed Nations

Developed countries have solved the problem of poverty. Yet even in these countries, there is a persistent core of poor people. In such an affluent country as the United states, the number of poor is estimated any where from ten to twenty per cent of the population. For, without the social security payments the 65% population will become severely poor. Still the persistence of poverty for such a large population is a serious matter and generates skepticism about the validity and success of the economic system.

In the current decades the levels of unemployment in these countries have also become persistent at a high level. In the 1950s and the 1960s full employment was defined as equal to or less than 4%. In 1970s even six per cent unemployment is being considered the norm. The economic system is unable to provide employment to an increasingly smaller portion of the working force. Thus the growth rate of the unemployment is now positive in the developed countries.

In the 1970s a new phenomenon, stagflation has appeared. Stagflation describes the economic situation where inflation and economic decline occur simultaneously. Economic stagnation has followed from a decline in productivity. Productivity in the United States is declining in the decade Despite wide-disparity in accounting for inflation, it is agreed that it has become a chronic problem with developed economics and the rate of growth of inflation is also positive and on the rise.

Cow-Boy Economy

The policies for the economic progress are based on the assumption that increased availability of economic commodities will be conductive to social welfare : Many developed countries have achieved high standard of living. However, the increases in the standard of living have not generated feelings of happiness. On the contrary affluence has brought forward conflicts between affluence and happiness. Robert L. Halibroner goes to the point of suggesting that such affluence is not desirable. It may be cause of its own decline (Business Civilization in Decline 1976). In United States the crime rate has gone up, the communities have been more or less uprooted and there is widespread feeling of alienation. The costs of economic growth have been rather high.

In the world as a whole economic growth in various countries has produced an international interdependence. The inter-dependence has been furthered by the activities and policies of multi national corporations. Thus the Western countries use and need large quantities of mineral resources particularly petroom other countries. The other Countries in exchange seek such basic goods as food

and medicines. Iran highlights this inter development. Iran badly needs foods from the US and the US is worried about the decline is the production and export of oil from Iran and other Middle Eastern Countries. The interdependence is such that economic decisions made by one country and in one place have a wide impact far away and in far off countries.

The interdependence is highlighted by the environment concerns. Coal-burning changes Co_2 levels in the atmosphere there by effecting the climate in virtually all parts of the world. The ecological issue have obliged economists to think in terms of "limited resources". Dennis Meadows met all in The Limits to Growth (1970) have shown that the world may be doomed if the current policies continued from either industrial pollution or population. Kenneth Boulding dismisses it as a Cowboy-economy to think of "no limit" to the worlds resources. B, Commonor in his Closing Circles Nature, Man and Technology (1971) points out that no economic activity can produce new resources which are not at the expense of other activities.

BASIC NEEDS : AN ANALYSIS

Way to the goal

Global satisfaction of "Basic Needs" by technological progress is taken to be the problem to day. Greater affluence, it is believed will provide a basis for more cultural activity. The important bottle neck in achieving this goal is uncritically taken to be the anti growth bias anti technology stance. So, spreading technological sophistication around the world is the missionary zeal everywhere.

Supplying the future population of 10,000 million with the current American standards of nutrition, housing the other basic needs is the goal towards which experts promise to take human society.

Definition

A little reflection will show that it is impossible to define "basic needs" without reference to the spiritual orientation of the person whose basic needs are in question. Even those who adopt the basic needs and GNP approach, of course, admit that needs very with differences in climate it is not possible to isolate it from the purely physical and climate environment. Basic needs of a European city dweller cannot be the same as that of a peasant living in tropics. Different indices have to be adopted for different population in determining the adequate standard of living. Would for instance a Samurai warrior in Feudal Japan or a mandarin in Ancient India or a Christian monk in medieval Europe be called upon to adopt the basic needs of the modern consumerist society as their own?

Poverty line

The determination of the 'Poverty Line" remains entirely an arbitrary affair in spite of equally arbitrary attempts made to assign qualitive weights to different items of welfare such as housing, nutrition, clothing, health care etc. This is one of the main themes of E.F. Shumacher's *Small is Beautiful*. He writes : "To undertake to measure the immeasurable is absurd and constitutes but an elaborate method of moving from preconceived notions to foregone conclusions all one has to do to obtain the desired result is to impute suitable values to the measurable costs and benefits. The logical

absurdity, however, is not the greatest fault of the undertaking. What is worse and destructive of civilization is the pretence that everything has a price or in other words that money is the highest of all values" (*Small is Beautiful*: A study of Economics as if People Mattered, New Delhi - 1977 p.41,42)

Premises

In terms of the premises of the technological cum GNP approach to "basic needs" the following assumptions are made :-

(i) There are certain basic needs for living which are quantifiable.

(ii) These needs can be satisfied by applying the appropriate technological means and

(iii) Culture, values, meaning etc., emerge after the basic needs have been met by technological means.

Question

That there can be neutral or raw technology which is "Value free" that it can and ought to be used to provide quantifiable goods housing, food, clothing, hospital, schools etc., and that, there is such a thing as an equally Value free" human demand for these basic goods or services are assumptions that cannot stand analysis. To speak needs whose satisfaction does not affect the way in which a human being orients himself to the world and to life is highly questionable. A house is a home, not just space enclosed by the walls to be used as shelter. Mercia Eliade notes the instance of a tribe for which the roof of the huts in which they have lived represent the sky, the hearth represents earth and the smoke that goes up through the roof from the heart, the axis of the world. Even denizens of modern megalopolises, look upon flats as homes. Food in the wedding feast is not the same as food in the funeral feast. Where with all is indeed necessary but is not a sufficient component in activities.

Values secondary

What we question is the nineteenth century materialism which holds that human questions fundamentally are those of meeting basic needs which are material and quantifiable. This native materialism looks upon all values and meanings as epiphenomenon of the material base. The notion that culture and values can be given secondary status compared to the primary task of improving the material base of the economy is the basic paradigm for the theory of the modern welfare states and for theories of growth for developing societies. It also is the ground upon which communist states are built. Marx holds that social, political, intellectual and cultural super structures are founded on a material base. It is axiom in the algebra of revolution, converted into an axiom for social welfare policies.

Rejection of Hedonistic

That basic needs have to be met before other value can emerge is a view that springs from hedonistic calculus. The classic arrangement and rejection of it in John "Stuart Mill's famous saying

"Pleasures of pushkin are not the same as the pleasure of poetry' is forgotten I would rather be a man dissatisfied than be pig satisfied; and I would rather be a Socrates dissatisfied than be an ordinary man satisfied are statements of Mill which go against the grain or accepting value-free technology and value free human demands.

Cultural system :

A whole system of Ethics, Philosophy, Sociology and Political, theory are behind this materialistic paradigm of modern world. To Hobbes, "life is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" and society is a state of war all against all". Bentham's utilitarian ethic of hedonistic calculus provides the motive force for the animal in man. For long, political science held that promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the motto for democratic nations. Truth itself is held to be that which works well in practice. Expedience is law in social transaction. Sigmund Freud, in the world of psychology declared that pleasures *of the id*, the store house of passions, urges and instincts is the goal of all personality making. He has subordinated the ego and superego to the unconscious id, and pleasure seeking is the sum and substance of human life. The philosophy of Logical positivism and its variants reserve validity to only two kinds of propositions the analytical propositions of logic and mathematics which contain deductive necessity within them and synthetic, propositions about factual world which can be verified with reference to facts. Statements or throughout which are neither analytical nor synthetic that is atheistic ethical, value judgements etc., can neither be verified with references to the facts nor be refuted by means of the law of non-contradiction and are thus neither true nor false. In other words they are strictly meaningless.

Violence the norm :

The struggle for existence and survival of the fittest of the Darwinian jungle has come to be accepted as the norm of human societies. Whole systems of thought in diverse ways developed to prove that man is no more than an animal. Man stands condemned as being 'irrational' when he thinks of values beauty, goodness and truth-Since Science reveals no purposes or ends in the world but only things-forces and objects obeying these forces, man himself becomes such an object in a world of objects. In stringing the materiality and animality of man, becomes an alien to his own human values emotions and will. When might is right, power becomes an object of worship-power before whose glance man creepeth and croucheth and becometh lower than the serpent and the swine until last great contempt crith out of him. (Nietzsche) Violence naturally becomes the law of the human species resulting in all sorts of alienation. Technology with no principle or value to define or limit its application is let loose upon the world. Questions such as the effect which the application of high technology has no man's health and psyche, on his social relations, on his relationship with Nature as a whole and with himself have become irrelevant.

The Technological approaches with its "conquest of nature attitude" and its tendency to regard all human relationship with Life. Nature and the Word as basically relationships demanding just technical adjustments has no place for a culture after the basic needs have been met.

THE POSER :

Man is not a what or a that but a who, a self a personality, a person. Carlyle's rhetorical question. "Can you make the Show black happy?" Is addressed to this person or self in man. Carlyle continues "can all the upholsterers and confectioner, make the shoe black happy ? Try him with half of the universe, "you will soon find him fighting for the other half of the universe". No wealth, no affluence no pleasure domes can make man happy. R.H. Tawney writes 'if economic ambitions are good servants, by there are bad masters." If industry is not to be paralised by revolts on the part of outraged human nature then it must satisfy criteria which are not purely economic.

MAN IN THE CONCRETE AND THE PROPHET

PRIMACY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Albert Camus, the French rebel, thinker and novelist wanted a philosophy of life that did not reject man in the concrete in favour of man in the abstract-an abstraction, in the name of which every violence, every cruelty, every inhumanity became permissible. Hegel, Nitzsche and Marx are men who chose history in their refusal of God. Karl popper's *Open Society and its Enemies* is an eloquent plea in the name of the idealities beginning with plato Rousseau, Hegel and others. Not only the distinction between state and society is obliterated but the primacy of the individual as against society also is undermined when in support they say "individual write large and society write small is the individual". The concept of "My Sation and its duties" is used to hold undermine the multifaceted dimensions of man in that his ethical and is shown to consist just in obeying unquestioningly the dictated and demand of the state. Against all these trends, will be seen that in Gandhi the primacy of the individual is not forgotten. The perceptions that ultimately the function of society is for the good of man and whatever a man does must help man in the concrete or vitaly incorporated in the philosophy of the Gandhi. Gandhi writes, "I do want growth, I do want self-determination. I do want freedom, but I want all these for the soul. I doubt if the steel age is an advance upon the flintage. I am indifferent. It is the evolution of the intellect and all our faculties have to be devoted". (The Mind of Mahathma Gandhi page 231)

VIDHURA

Any one can perceive the wisdom of Vidhura Nidhi in the life and teachings of Gandhi. May be it becomes necessary to destroy individual for the sake of a town, for a nation. Yet it must be remembered that for the sake of the soul of the individual man, the whole world might be destroyed.

General Will : Rousseau

In stressing the soul of man we have at once the necessary correction to the totalitarian trends of authoritarian forms of Governments. It is a correction to the wild views and ways of anarchists. Rousseau's concept of "General will" which in practice is not the will of the concrete individual but only of an abstract man gets its correction when Vidhura maintains that for the sake of saving the soul of individual man, the whole world might be given up. On the other hand it rejects the position of John Stuart Mill, the liberal democrat becoming a prophet of empty liberty and abstract individual.

Meaning of freedom

With an unerring perception Gandhi links political freedom with the individual's inner freedom. The outer freedom and the inner freedom are in direct proportion to each other. Outer freedom in political life will have no meaning if inner freedom is lacking or weak, Gandhi did not believe with men like Rousseau who spoke of "forcing man to be free". If it is accepted, It simply leads to the totalitarian ways of Nazism, Fascism and communism.

On the other hand inner freedom from fear is the result of growth in wisdom and virtue. It will oblige him to a path of self purification. It is a case of a seeing God face to face. It is self-realization or mokhsa. This means loving the meanest of creation as oneself.

Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self-purification. Without self-purification the law of Ahimsa must remain an empty dream; God can never be realized by one who is not pure of heart. Self purification therefore must mean purification in all walks of life; And purification (Being highly infections purification) of one self necessarily leads to the purification of one's surroundings (Autobiography).

Swaraj is sacred word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint and not freedom of restraint which 'Independence often means. (The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 317).

I do not believe that the spiritual law works on a field of its own. On the contrary it expresses. Itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the economic, the social and the political field of life. (The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 223).

The immediate service of all human becomes a necessary part of the endeavour simply because the only way to find the God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it.

A seeker after Truth, a follower of the Law of Ahimsa cannot hold anything against the morrow. God never provides for the morrow. He never creates more than what is strictly needed from day today. (The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 224).

Thus it is link between the outer freedom that is political and social with the inner freedom that is spiritual and ethical that saves Gandhi from the extremes of totalitarianism on the one hand and from the wild ways of so called democrates.

Swadeshi

His doctrine of Swadeshi is born out of his thinking of the man in the immediate neighbourhood. That way he avoided that pitfalls of thinking in the abstract. Swadeshi - spirit enabled him to avoid alienation in society, exploitation and cut throat competition in economics. Violence of every kind in the affairs of man will disappear if the concept of Swadeshi is remembered. The Gospel of Charka making maximum use of resources just for the upkeep of immediate neighbours, drawing priorities in the use of resources all these are to be traced to this doctrine of Swadeshi.

The Talisman

The one talisman that Gandhi provides for all of man's action social, political, economic, educational, ethical and spiritual is this: "Will it help wipe out the tear from the poor man?", This vision of man in the concrete is the major premise of all Gandhi's prescriptions. Gandhi's God is none else than Swami Vivekananda's God, the poor. God the wicked, God the lame and God the infirm. For him there can be nothing spiritual apart from human activity. In his own words it is God in the poor Daridranarayan.

The People

This is nothing but love of the people in the concreteness of the present, the Immediate and the now. Gandhi has no hesitation whatsoever in admitting that this love of the people that was the moving force behind everything he did. To speak of cause, any case for that matter, say justice, peace, equality, liberty etc., without thought. Hence Gandhi avers: "cause with the people is a dead thing". (Non-violence in Peace and Wars, Vol.I, p.171).

Truth

Truth that was God for Gandhi, itself is defined in terms of the ordinary consciousness of man.

"What a pure heart feels at a particular time is truth". (Harijan, 27-11-49)

"Whatever you believe at the present to be true is true and that is God" (Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol L Page 285)

May be it is just relative truth only-relative to the situation in space and the moment in time; relative to one condition of ethical and spiritual growth. Yet truth is what the voice within tells. Hence there is nothing wrong in every one following Truth, according to his lights. Indeed it is his duty to do so. Then if there is a mistake on the part of any one so following Truth, it will be automatically set right. For the quest of truth involves tapas, self suffering sometimes even into death. There can be no place in it for even a trace of self-interest. In such self-less search for truth nobody can lose his bearings for long. (In Search of the Supreme, Vol. II, p. II).

Ahimsa

Gandhi's plea for the norm of Ahimsa in the name of truth and God in the concrete man effectively provides an antidote to violence in every form. The great problem and scandal of modern revolutions arise out of starting with the affirmation of absolute liberty or an abstract man in conception. It is this abstraction of the man that helps to justify the death camps of a Hitler, the labour camps of the Soviets and of the Chinese, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki massacre of American democracy. If the man in the concrete is kept in view there can be no place for craze of world powers and sovereign states for nuclear weapons. No war, no killing, no violence, no inhumanity is possible if the God of truth is perceive in the man of flesh and blood.

Art

Art, Culture, religion etc., for Gandhi cannot afford to forget the "still and music of humanity". "I love music and all other art but I do not attach such value to them as is generally done. When I gaze at the star-sown heaven and infinite beauty that it affords my eyes that means to me more than all that human art can give me. Life is greater than all art. The man whose life comes nearest to perfections is the great artist for what is art without the sure foundation and frame work of noble? Life". To a Tagore who spoke of the music of the bird that sings and soars high in the sky and soaring still sings, Gandhi spoke of the poem of one vigorous meal to the starving millions. For a person who suffers from the panes of hunger and desiring nothing but to fill his belly, his belly is his God, to millions who gave to go without two meals day?" (The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi, Page. 403)

Work

Gandhi's thought of man in the concrete is highlighted by yet another concept - the concept of work. He sincerely believed that every conceivable grace of life is to be found in work. In his hands it becomes a Gospel of Work. Gandhi is categorical in asserting the importance of work when he writes; "Throughout 35 years of unbroken experience of public service in several parts of the world- I have not yet understood that there is anything like spiritual or moral value apart form work and action".

In his devotion to work and explication of its meaning and significance Gandhi will have no hesitation in accepting Carlyle's definition of work; "All true work is blessed. He who bath this blessedness let him ask for no other". His conviction was such that he would dare to question sages who gave importance to a life of contemplation. Gandhi writes; If had the good fortune to be face to face with one like him (the Buddha), I should not hesitate to ask him why he did not teach the Gospel of work in preference to one of contemplation. I should do the same thing if I were to meet these saints (like Lukaram, etc.). (The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 203).

The Model Man :

Gandhi in his very life and person stood as an uncompromising symbol of his Gospel of work. He dressed like a farmer, with a loin cloth that got him the name, the half naked fakir. He very often said that his thinking and argument was that of a villager. He even wrote only for the common man. His Anasakthi Yoga is interpretation of the Gita for the unsophisticated and even unlettered section of the Gujarati speaking public. His identification with the working class is brought out when he writes; I pride myself on calling myself a scavanger, a weaver, farmer and do not feel ashamed that some of the things I know but indifferently. It is a pleasure for me to identify with the labouring classes, because without labour we can do nothing".

Service

Work understood as service to fellow human beings alone is taken to give meaning to life. In comparison with that nothing else mattered. Gandhi would neither allow "Physical Voluptuousness"'

that is passion for the possession of material things nor even "intellectual voluptuousness" to come is its way.

Examples

This view of life is not anything unique to Gandhi. Albert Schweitzer chose to exile himself to the wilds of Africa to bring medical help to its primitive people forsaken by civilization rather than seek world renown which would have been his for the asking as a doctor or a musician. Bertrand Russell a man of great academic eminence gave importance to a deep compassion for the human race. In the foreword to the first volume of his Autobiography, he has stated with simple eloquence : "Three passions simple but overwhelmingly strong have governed my life: the longing for love, the search for knowledge and unbearable pity for the suffering humankind... I have sought knowledge. I have wished to understand the hearts of men. I have wished to know why the sun shines. Love and knowledge so far as it was possible led upward towards the heavens. But always pity brought me back to earth. Echoes of cries of pain reverbrate in my heart. Children in famine, victims tortured by oppressors, helpless old people a hated burden to their sons and the whole world of loneliness, poverty and pain make a mockery of what human life should be".

Medium of Education

"The education of the worker is the door to the education of the man', wrote Kershensteiner, Gandhi derived his theory of basic education from his belief in the value of work. Like Carlyle, or Tolstoy and Dewey, he was convinced that when children and adults work their hands at productive labour and make it social knowledge becomes highly motivated, is joyously acquired and is better assimilated and retained. Therefore it is not academic work but education through the medium of work earning through doing.

Personality

Work as conceived by Gandhi is part and parcel of man's personality. There is joy of creation, satisfaction of having contributed some thing useful of society. That way vitalizes faith in one self. The quantity and quality of work help measure self confidence, manual work physiologically is the corrective to the law of atrophe of parts of the body through disuse. All the importance of sport and play and physical exercise will find their consummation in productive manual work "If every one whether rich or poor is to take exercise in some shape or form why should it not assume the form of productive labour in bread labour" asks Gandhi. (Mind of the Mahatma Gandhi, p. 119).

Bread Labour

That man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hand was first stressed by a Russian writer T.M. Bondaref, Tolstoy advertised it and gave it wider publicity. Gandhi finds the same principles in the third chapter of the Gita when eating without sacrifice is condemned. Gandhi takes that sacrifice that can only mean bread labour.

Western civilization is built on a false premise that physical labour eats away the leisure and

that no art and culture is possible with time lost in manual labour. It derives its inspiration from the Greek city states that owned slaves specifically for doing manual work. Even Plato's ideal state is but a slave - owning state. In modern times science and technology seek to do the work of slaves by its various gadgets of machines and computer.

Leisure

The thought that manual work does not go with culture and art and that manual work is but menial work has brought in the problem of leisure in modern societies. For man does not know what to do with his leisure.

Sweden : A warning

The quintessence of the materialization of modern western culture is to be had in Sweden. It is held as the model state even by advanced European and American Societies. Even conceivable measure spelt out by the concept of a Welfare state has been effectively carried out in Sweden. Last salary drawn as life-pension, health and education guaranteed at government cost, substantial increase in the salary on the birth of every child, state-car at one's disposal to spend week ends in luxurious hotels run at government cost at picnic spots-all these have not made man happy in Sweden. In an article, Sweden a paradise of problems published by Readers Digest a few years ago, we read that Sweden out beat all other nations in registering year after year number of suicidal menace. The problem of this "paradise" is made out to be the problem of leisure.

If being is doing, argues Gandhi, the law of bread labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society. If everybody labours physically for his bread it follows, that poets, doctors, lawyers etc., will regard it their duty to use their special talent for the service of humanity.

Man in the Concrete

Man in the concrete therefore is Gandhi's philosophy for the modern age of abstractions. In him Gandhi was the antidote to mass massacre in the name justice, freedom, equality etc., conceived in abstract term. Man abstracted is the curse of the age. Ours is the climax of age born out of centuries of abstraction. To counter the Sundyavada of the Buddhist Nagarjuna, the philosophy of absolute nihilism. Shankara went to the extent of claiming truth and reality even for the dream objects. He called it prathibhasika order or reality. To counter the evil of the abstruction, alienations, exploitation, violence, and dehumanization of man in the modern world Gandhi held out his philosophy of man in the concrete as the only antidote.

The Prophet

In the history of humanity prophets are rare while priests are many. The priests, an institutional character to the ethical programs, transform them into rigid doctrines and carefully guard the correct formation of each idea. Priests destroy the bond between the ideas and real life, while prophets become the source of moral inspiration. We owe it to the prophets that moral ideas from time to time appear in the flesh; wrote Eric Fromm, Gandhi is truly a prophet of the 20th century world in that he was an uncompromising concrete symbol of the common man.

A Note

J.D. Sethi in his celebrated work *Gandhi Today* rejects the idea that poverty is a third world country problem while alienation is the problem of the developed countries, both Capitalist and Communist. The definition of alienation by Marx has been widened by the New Left and other Philosophers. J.D. Sethi presents a list with Gandhian vision.

1. Alienation of human from work
2. Alienation of human from the commodities he/she produces
3. Alienation of consumption from production
4. Alienation of human from social organisms
5. Alienation of human from one another
6. Alienation of human from nature
7. Alienation of human from his inner-self

The essence of Gandhian approach is holistic and the full and total growth of human in tune with oneself and everything else outside him/her. Modern civilization leads to the development of a pseudoself. The Marxian approach to alienation is unidimensional. It takes into account only the economic aspect.

Mahatma Gandhi rejected historical deterministic philosophers including Marx's historical materialism. Thus freedom is central to Gandhian thinking. It is more than freedom. It is swaraj. According to Gandhi, human need to be engaged in the eternal dialectical process of truth realization. Human, thus is involved in eternal self and social transformation. The human listens to his "inner voice" and love the "other" with whom she/he is in conflict for truth and justice.

Mahatma Gandhi wanted fair and just labour as i) a minimum physical labour for all, ii) as a way to earn a meaningful living, iii) as a way of self-actualization, iv) as a method of unity with others through service. Gandhi did not reject technical, scientific and industrial conditions. But he wanted them to liberate humanity and not to enslave and alienate humanity. Gandhi rejected the existing capitalist and mixed economic method and proposed a system of social self-management, called trusteeship. It is the growth of the vision of stewardship, individual development, and social well-being. Gandhi rejected totalitarianism, colonialism and western democracy since they alienated the individual from political power. He was for people's power and participatory democracy. Gandhi stood for a new education system which would help the individual and society to achieve full growth. He rejected the contemporary education system which dehumanizes and makes one a small heartless part of the giant machine of modern, civilization. Above all Gandhi gave a new life style, right mode of struggle and a way to build up a new human and a new society.

THE GANDHIAN APPROACH-CREATIVITY, DYNAMISM, REVERENCE FOR LIFE. LIVING VITALLY

Unit - I Prognosis - (a) Western, (b) Gandhian

(a) Western :

Dehumanizes :

Huxley :

Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" warns us a society which tries to realize the ideals of community, identify and stability by means of technology and applied biology. Human beings are predestined in their very embryos to accept with gladness a service state which will be their lot for the whole of their lives. If someone, at any stage of his life gets deconditioned and begins to think freely about the human situation, there are always drugs and sex to distract his attention for any such concerns. If these fail, he is existed. "Total dehumanization is the price man has to pay for achieving the Utopian ideals of community, identity and stability by means of technology. The one dissident who cannot stand the technological Utopia cries out in despair. "But I do not Want comfort, I want God. I want poetry, I want real danger, I want freedom, I want goodness, I want sin... I am claiming the right to be unhappy". Finally he hangs himself rather than live in the neighborhoods of technological Utopia.

Orwell

George Orwell's 1984 (1949) gives us a vision of three monstrous slave states of the world- Oceania, Eurasia had Eastasia. Human beings have been conditioned to believe that Technology has given so much power to the state that the individual man has turned into a servile robot. Those in power delight in catching individuals on the wrong foot and take immense pleasure in torturing them.

War is peace

Freedom is slavery

Ignorance is strength

Rarely do we meet men as men in modern societies. We fail to reckon with the fellow human being in the men whom we come across. We meet in them only the factory worker, the launderer, the pedlar, the lawyer, the doctor, the teacher, but never man, the human being. We do not find the time and the leisure to engage the humane in our negotiations.

Problem :

Man himself :

The problem of problems is man himself. The leech's kiss, the squid's embrace, the prurient ape's defiling touch are all quite welcome, Man himself is Anaheme, the accursed thing. Man the human in acts, the divine in his essence is forbidden topic. Philosophy proscribes any discussion of

these issues. Logic liquidates them altogether from the realm of thinking man. Behaviouristic psychology tries to blot out thinking per se. To find out where "man really is man" is the problem says Karl Jaspers. If practically everybody whom the individual now encounters in life seems to lack value and distinction if disillusionment is heaped upon disillusionment, then it become the measure of man's own, stature how far he succeeds in breaking through in finding indications for his path amid the dispersed embers of the true, and in becoming certain, when it is that man really is man" This is Karl Jaspers in his work "Man in the Modern Age" (1954)

Ultimate Wants :

Spectre :

Today we find ourselves exceedingly interconnected in wrong ways of exploiting others, potentially dangerous ways of waging war. The cost of these ways of interrelating is already very high. As Stepten Ross puts, it results in threats of starvation to one half of humanity and extinction of 20 per cent of biological species by the year 2000 "The Global 2000 Report to the President" (1980) states that by the time today's old are thirty there will be less water available, less fertile land, less clean air, less wilderness. The outward glamour and glitter of this age of consumerism is graphically presented as follows. "If the world were a global village of 100 people, 6 of them would be Americans. These 6 would have over third of the villager's income and the other 94 would subsist on the other two-thirds. How would the wealthy six live in "peace" with the neighbours? Surely they would be driven to arm themselves against the other 94 perhaps even to spend, as American do about, twice as much per person on military defence as the total income of two-third of the villager". The Simple Living Collective American Friends Service Committee-Report (1977). Our present much wanted technological civilization is in essence a civilization of mounting fear. Its chief symptom, the insane Atomic, Biological, Chemical and Geophysical (ABCG) arms race is deeply related to fear.

Unlimited Wants :

The Absurdity :

It is estimated that if India wants to achieve Americans level of affluence, it will need 120 percent of the world's resources a blatant absurdity in itself. The absurdity of unlimited wants and greed aggravated by the technological alienation, bring about forces that force man to be ethical in limiting his wants. Should we not actively seek to change ourselves we may ultimately be forced into it perhaps through hardship and dislocations. In his work "Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity" (1977). W. Ophuis writer. "The earth is teaching us a moral lesson. The individual virtues that have now become imperative for practical ones" (p. 218)

Spirituality :

Inescapable :

No doubt for many years ethical and spiritual considerations could be put aside. The frontiers of space and expanses of resources seemed without limit. The biospheres seemed to be fully able

to absorb what ever wastes and effluent we could generate. Such concepts as "Survival of the Fittest" applied to social level "laissez faire", free market place and "free commons" may have been sufficient to rationalize special activities in the past. But they no longer prove valuable in solving the adverse effects which have occurred as a result of their application.

Synergy :

The New Construct :

When our actions go against the harmony of life we would lose, harming others and ourselves. Sub-systemic values will always be at some point restrained when they go against the values of whole. The values of all life in interaction are beyond the material man of animal instincts and atavistic dispositions and aggrandizement. An ecological perspective of harmony and balance in the scheme of things the cooperation living together for mutual benefit dictated by a symbiosis point to the necessity of concept of "Synergy". Synergy is a construct that helps transcend the self/other, individual/interactions/ selfish/altruistic polarities; it entails departure from our usual egotistic out look to one which embraces; and acts for the harmony and fulfillment of the values of human and living systems fuse. The intentionality of our values is rooted in our inter-relationships, reflected in our wisdom and actively structures the world. A progressive spiritual unification comes into being when the goats of individual's bio-social systems and ecological laws converge.

The Imperatives :

Kant :

Once human beings come to see themselves as ends and as part of the total life process not disturbing the harmony of things, the severe competition, strife and conflict we witness will become a thing of the past. It is to such a goal we have Iammanuel Kant's categorical imperatives :

(i) So act as if the maxim of thy action were to become the will, the law universal.

(ii) Trust humanity, whether in their own self or in that of others, always as an end never as a means only and

(iii) Act as if you are member of the Kingdom of Ends.

Prognosis : B. Gandhian

Curse of Industrialism :

Nadirsha

We are caught on the horns of technology's most conspicuous dilemma-the dilemma of either/ or. Against the prevailing conventional wisdom of "Industrialize or Perish", as early as 1928 Gandhi had pleaded. "God forbid that India should ever take to industrialization after the manner of the west. The economic imperialism of a single tiny island kingdom (England) is today keeping the world in

chain. If an entire nation of 300 millions took to similar economic exploitations it would strip the world bare like locusts". He asks, "Don't you see that if India becomes industrialized we should need a NADIRSHA to find out other worlds to exploit, that we shall have to compete ourselves against naval and military power of Britain and Japan and America or Russia and Italy? My head reels to think of these rivalries (Harijan, 26-10-1936)

Mammon worship :

The Devil :

Reiterating the same idea Gandhi wrote. "I believe that independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life, by developing her thousands of cottages and living in peace with the world. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated, material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon Worship" (Harijan, 10-10-1946)

Machines :

Enslave

The man question is whether technology would remain controlled and in service of man to reduce drudgery or whether man would be subservient to technology. In Gandhi's own wards. "Men go on saving labour till thousands are without work and thrown on the open street to die of starvation. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the back of millions" (Harijan, 16-11-1934)

Machines :

Cause Unemployment

The exploitative tendency is one thing. For another, with its creeds of increasing efficiency it becomes responsible for unemployment. "Mechanization", said Gandhi, "is good when hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work as is the case in India" (Harijan, 29-10-1940)

Inescapable :

Capitalism or Communism

Gandhi made on difference how the forces of production were organized Capitalism or Socialism was for him surface phenomena. No matter whether it is Russian state - socialism or Western private capital, the destructive aggressiveness of industrialism as such is inescapable. Anticipating these basic similarities in 1940 Gandhi wrote "Nehru wants industrialization because he thinks that if it is industrialized, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialism and no amount of socialism can eradicate them". (My Picture of Free India; Pearl Publications, 1965, p.52).

Technology :

Turns against Man

Accumulation of technical fitness to successfully compare with other has begun to turn against the human species as such. F.H. Heine man in his work "Existentialism and modern predicament" (1958) writes : Suddenly we find ourselves face to face with the machines which we have created. They are our children. On the one hand similar to us, like the electronic brain which competes with us in calculating; on the other, more foreign to us than a work of art of the products of manual labour. As automatic they seen to move according to their own laws, helpful as long as we control them, but menacing as soon as they get out of hand. Here, therefore, a new phenomenon arises which I should like to call technological alienation".

UNIT- II PERSPECTIVE - THE MAN

(4) Why Gandhi?

The Answer :

The accident true to its root Latin word which means 'to sink', "to fail", "to get lost", needs a new orientation. Detief Kantowsky writes, "It is in this general context of new value orientation and the quest for human survival that the discovery of Gandhi's message in the West has to be seen. In contrast to the late 1960s when redress of the individual, voluntary simplicity has become a force that is backed by a major shift in public opinion".

Meaning

Many have confused a return to Gandhi with the development of intermediate or appropriate technology for economic growth. But it is to ignore the need to "turn inward to that which unifies all, not the intellect but the spirit and then to devise and put into operation new forms and modes of economic and social life." (Words of Richard Gregg approvingly quoted by Detief Kantowsky).

Schumacher

E.E.Schumacher in his work, "A guide for The Perplexed" speaks of a distinction between science for manipulation, and science for understanding. Whenever we look upon science and technology as tools of exploiting nature we invariably and up exploiting our fellow human beings, end this is not dependent on the size of the technology but on the motivation behind the use though larger technologies do tend to be more exploitative because the human scale is altogether lost sight of.

Chinese Story:

A beautiful Chinese story illustrators what Gregg. Kantowsky, Schumacher and the like are trying to point out. Tzn-Kung, a disciple of Confucious saw an old man who was engaged in irrigating

his vegetable plots. The way this man did it was to let himself down into the well-pit by footholes cut in the side and emerge a pitcher which he carefully emptied into a channel thus expending a great deal of energy with very small results. "There exists", Tzu said to him," a contrivance with which one can irrigate a hundred vegetable plots in a single day. Unlike what you are doing, it demands a very small expenditure of energy but produce very great results. Would you not like me to tell you about it?' The gardener raised his head and gazed at Tzn -Kung. "What is it like?" He asked. "It is an instrument carved out of wood," said Tzn Kung, "It scoop up the water like a bale, as quickly as one drains a bathtub. Its name is the well-sweep." A look of indignation came into the gardener's face. He laughed scornfully saying. I used to be told by my teacher that were there are cunning devices, there will be cunning performances and when there are cunning performances, there will be counting hearts. He is whose breast a cunning heart lies has blurred the pristine purity of his nature; he who was blurred the pristine purity of his nature, has troubled the quiet of his soul in him. Tzn (God) will not dwell. It is not that I do not know about this invention; but I should be ashamed to use it". Our education has made us cuning; our science has corrupted our soul; no wonder our life is one of exploitation, alienation and violence where Tao" will not dwell.

(B) The Manifesto: What it is?

This in essence is the message of Hind Swaraj. It is to Gandhi what The Communist Manifesto is to Karl Marx. In Hind Swaraj Gandhi makes an eloquent plea against the menace of modem technology which dehumanizes and alienates man denatures Nature herself,. Broadly therefore its theme is, describing the implications of modem civilization and of finding a new technology for the human substance.

Rejects alternation

Gandhi's objections to railway's law courts, hospitals and education are based on a rejection of mobility, impersonal justice, health that is licence for sensual indulgers and literacy that corrupts the soul with its mistaken prospective of the Baconian dictum. "Knowledge is power" Modem civilization stands rejected bell, book and candle simply because it precludes the possibility of man confronting himself in his essence.

Unit of Society

Gandhi's expousal of natural segregation of villages as the viable units of human settlement posites the literal co-existence for man along with other men and the human affefacts and natural features which continue their common environment. It is only in that man so co-exists truly at all. It is the awakening or the village basic structural dimension of societal reality.

Questions who?

Thief

In the context of a discussion of ends and means, Gandhi instances the importance of ontological distinctions and inseparability of universal categories. The questions concern the action

to be taken against a thief and Gandhi argues that the means to be adopted will be determined by Who the thief is. It will depend on whether he is one's father, strong or weak etc. If what is at issue is an accurate response to the fact that someone is stealing, then the identify of the doer of the act must be decisive to the response. But in law the abstracted act of stealing alone is significant and the agent in hypothetised as a thief what is obliterated here is the particularity of the event the identify of a doer, into a "who" in flesh and blood. The residue and the result is the homogenization of an abstract man as the performer of an abstract deed that has no roots is reality. That way lies the dehumanization of man, the alienation of man from man, from all the farms and the flora, man from the things of nature.

Health:

Every decision for Gandhi be it in any context -political, economic, social, educational, health and hygiene, was simultaneously the laying open of himself, the discovering of the identify of the man 'the who' and 'the-for-whom'. What after all, for instance, has mumps to do with mesophytes? Why not the doctor and swift medicinal cure? Nothing at all if business as usual is what is wanted, the so-called 'business' of 'doctoring'. Everything, if one wants to know the "who" man in the possession of body pain, a possession which brings in light its tastes and proclivities, its appetites and compulsions, the character and culture; its very way and philosophy of the Age that is connection between mumps for and metaphysics. Mumps for the child and mumps for the lay and mumps for the monk in every case particularing the disease giving it a local habitation and identity in the "who" in the for whom. This openness and vulnerability to the concrete man refusing to abstract problems concerning him in universal categories is the unique contribution of the Gandhian thought in The Hind Swaraj.

Petitioning

Again, for instance, into the case of petitioning. A petition of an equal is a sign of courtesy, a petition from a slave is a symbol of his slavery. A petition backed by force is a position from as equal. Two kinds of forces can back petitions, 'we shall hurt you if you do not give this', it one kind of force; it is the force of arms of violence. The second kind of force can be stated as follows: "if you, do not concede our demand, we shall no longer be your pensioners, you can govern us only so long as we remain the governed. We shall no longer have any dealings will you". The force implied in this may be described as love-force or more popularity, but less accurately passive resistance.

Self

The question 'who' in Gandhi always brings into focus the paramount importance of the individual, the person in the concrete in flesh and blood. This question when turned to himself in Gandhi, always makes for an interior journeying, an exploration of his being and not just the working out of a preestablished strategy. It is this insistent questioning of the person in himself that constituted his guest after perfection, his search for self-realization through service to the people, the claim that there is no religion apart from human activity, the assertion that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means.

In the Concrete

In the essence of his concrete particularity, man always remains a question, an openness ever admiring the infinite possibilities of exploration at my level one may choose. While all assertions about him are true, none seems to exhaust him. With the Shakesperean among, one can always pose the question "Is man no more than this" It is in virtue of having kept close in touch with this, mysteriousness of man, Gandhi is the least systematic among all who count as his historical poets. For systems are possible only for those who have answered the question who man is, once and for all, decisively. Disconsolate on account of this intractability of Gandhi, not a few scholars have chosen to speak despairingly of Gandhi, the thinker.

The Image

'Asvatiha' is the holy fig tree In the myth, it roots above and its branches proliferate down below. The Upanisadic text reads as follows: " its root above its branches below such is the eternal asvattha" Man in the Gandhian thought may be compared, to this asvattha with its root above and with its branches below. Note, it is 'root' in the singular. That root above is truth, the supreme human value. The branches below are the endless ramifications of that one value into the ethical, aesthetic, logical and psychological. Every liberating human endeaour is to be traced to this imagery of man the eternal asvantha with truth its root above progressively pluralizing itself to the many branches below.

Technology: For man:

Techne" is the Greek root of the word technology^ It means "a bringing forth", 'an opening up', ' a revealing of. In the fundamental race meaning of this term or technology', Gandhian technology formulates various contructs and paradigms to help bring out the truth of man. Gandhi's Hind Swaraj revealed, great sensitivity to the implications of man as subjecting in Martin Heideggar's sense. In Heideggar's etymology subjectum refers to that which lies before, to that which is present. Swaraj. Civilization and science are the major important constructs of Gandhi to unfold, to bring forth, to open up man the subjectum. In the scheme of constructive, Swaraj is a ideal civilisation its manifestation and science its tool. The uniqueness of this technology makes Gandhi the prophet of a new age, the mentor of a new earth.

C) Development: The Notion

Drawn from intution and logic. Gandhian criticism of the modem western civilization, the move upto an 'affluent' society, stands fully supported by data pouring in from the failure of the various experiments in the so called developed countries. Gandhi rejected not only such supportive mechanism of development as technology, bureaucracy, elitist education and the like but also the very ideas of development *per se*. Holding that any search for affluence is deleterious to the interest of human beings, Gandhi called upon the monitors of socio-economic and socio-political life to apt for self-abnegatics and vouluntary simplicity,. His warning that a grinding process of misery will overtake the poor if the western paths of development are not eschewed, stand clearly vindicated.

Arraigns

Any impartial assessment of the development decades in the west will reveal the following points:

(i) It has made some countries and regines of the developing area benefit more from the plans of development than the others.

(ii) It has enabled a few families in every country to monopolies all the benefits.

(iii) Sunce development means a rise in prices and costs of basic needs rise faster than the over all index, the vast number of the poor people who do not benefit from development automatically come poorer.

Recent trends:

The horrors of 'planning' and the dangers of 'development inherent in the concept of material affluence are now made evident, by the recent trends in thinking in the western world of economic "Limits to Growth", "Unequal Development", "Another Development Approach and strategies" "Small is Beautiful", "Small is possible", "Alternative Development Strategies", "Economic of Love" "Humanistic Economics", "Humanomics" these are perspective approaches to the study of economic activity today.

Nomenclatures:

Whatever name one may give to the economic of development in an endless Jigsaw puzzle is changing the nomenclatures. 'GNP', 'Per-capita', 'Basic Needs', 'Antyodaya' etc. It invariably refers to a kind of consumption basket to which only the winners have access. The basket is expensive. It is the basket that is responsible for impoverization of the people in Australia, for example, the basket costs 16 thousand dollars per head to day i.e., the money required to create job for a person. The baskets cannot be negotiated by those who do not have a job, in the United States. The basket draws 58% of the world's resources to make it available in only 4% of the people. Those who own such baskets in a third world Country do not however consume any less quantum of good resources, than what their counterparts of the affluent societies do. The cost of the basket is so prohibitive that it can be more available only to a few at the cost of all others. A development proceeds and prices sour, the cost of the same baskets is to go further and further up throwing more and more people into the dungheep of misery, squalour and distress.

Two Reports

These findings of consumerist society wedded to the goal of affluence is confirmed by two recent reports given below:

(A) The world Bank Report (1978) : According to this report if the present trends continue the number of the poor in the world, instead of being reduced from 800 millions, 600 millions as was originally contemplated, would strive to 1600 millions to 1,700 millions.

(B) New Internationalists 1974 : This is the other squeeze report. It affirms that a Third World can be found today in each efficient country of the world and that a thousand persons die every year in the United Kingdom due to cold which is no different from death due to starvation. Homeless persons, in Australia, own to day us a result of the request that development administers, properties worth not more than Rs.58/- per head.

Weber

The fortunate few are not only callous to us weal and woe of the unfortunate poor, but they want to legitimize there relative affluence. As Max Weber puts it: "The fortunate is seldom satisfied with the fact of being fortunate. Beyond this he needs to know that he has a right to this good fortune. He wants to be convinced that he deserves it; and above all, that he deserves it in comparison with others... Good fortune thus wants to be legitimate". (Essay in Sociology, 1948, p. 271)

Dictum:

Gandhian technology conceives of a society when people will willingly court poverty and will voluntarily curtail their wants. No one here would wallow in attunes and none would live in filth.

The Gandhian dictum is:

"There is enough in the World for everybody's need:

but there is not enough in this world for anybody's greed."

Definition:

Real development, Gandhi averred, does not consist in things but in the quality of life, not is goods but in good life, it cannot be wasteful of resources or rapacious towards nature and the non renewable resources. Certainly it is not predatory economy not a parasitic one; it is not even a resources economy, m the words of Dr. Kumarappa it will be an economy of permanence. It will never be iniquitous or unjust in distribution. It is a Sarvodaya society where outrageous privilege will be shunned in the name of the poorest the lowliest and the last/ Modem developmentalism will be replaced by a development of all people, of the whole of society. Development is to be seen as a whole, as an integral cultural process, as the development of every man and of the whole man.

Vindication:

This concept of development Gandhi has evolved finds its vindication it the Dag. Hammarskjeld foundation's findings and norms. The foundation looks upon it as another development and lays down concepts that truly indicate correct direction for the future. Development according to them has to be need oriented, self-reliant, ecologically sound norms symptomatic in all their Gandhian ring about them

Detlef Kamtowsky writes, "it is in the general context of a new value orientation and the quest for human survival and the discovery of the individual worth, Gandhian measure to be seen".

New Earth Gandhi

Gandhian constructs help man overcome his history separation from the cosmic whole. Life is one whole and the whole quest of man's activity to-day constitutes as indivisible whole; you cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into water light compartments. Human life being an undivided whole, no line can ever be drawn between ethics and politics. One's everyday life is never capable of being separated from one's spiritual being. Both act and react upon one another,

(Mind of Mahatma Gandhi p.101)

What is true of life is also true of the human mind and society. Gandhi writes, "I claim that human mind or human society is not divided into water right compartments called social, political and religious. All act and react upon another".

"I do want growth. I do want self-determination. I do want freedom, but I want all these for the soul."

(Young India, 30.10.1921, p.325).

I do not believe that an individual may gain spiritually when those who surround him suffer, I believe in advaita, I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives. Therefore I believe that if one man gains spiritually the whole world gains with him and if one man fails the whole world fails to that in the extent.

(In Search of the Supreme, Vol.1, p.60)

"We are all tarted with the same brush and are children of one and the same creator and an such the divine powers within us are infinite. To slight a single human being is to slight those divine power and thus to harm not only that being but with him the whole world."

(My Experiments with truth: p.337)

"Is not struggle the law in the natural world? If it is much more so is it the law in the spiritual world. There is a spiritual law in the natural world and a natural law in the spiritual world. Life is a perpectual striving. There is always a tempest raging in us and struggle against temptation is a perpetual duty. One needs to have the will and then., you know the English proverb, there's the way. And there are those Biblical sayings, "Ask and it shall be given", "Seek and you will find", "Knock and it shall be open."

(In Search of The Supreme, Vol.II, p-3)

(D) Swaraj - Basic

In a recent article "Gandhi Coming Back from West to East". Detlef Kantowsky writes "The western man splits material reality into particles so that it can be fed into computer machines with a rigid binary logic. The Eastern man tries to overcome his thought-provoked separations from the cosmic whole through training of mindfulness so that he begins to realize the liberating truth of *tat tvam asi* (Gandhi Marg. vol. 5 Number Three, June 1983, p. 130). Of the many concepts, 'swaraj'

is a Gandhian concept of basic importance, in that it is an exercise it so understanding it us to help man realize the liberating truth of *tat tvam asi* in every sphere of his day to day activities.

As self-rule

Swaraj as a term, literally means "home rule", yet it is not a political concept in Gandhi. No doubt it was a political concept for Tilak and even for Gokhale. But it under went a radical transformation at the hands of Gandhi. It stands for a purity concept - purity of body, mind and soul taken together. Self-rule understood as home-rules lies at the periphery of the concept. Swaraj, therefore, it not necessarily advocated against the foreign rule. Home-rule is not necessarily. Swaraj, Even when one's own brothers are ruling oneself one may not have freedom. That is why Gandhi could with on 27, January 1948 as follows. "The Congress has won political freedom" but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom. These freedom are harder than the political if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular.

(Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Edited by Shriman Narayan (1968) vol. VI. p. 455)

Vedic sense:

Even if understood in its political sense, Swaraj in Gandhi does not advocate democracy, plutocracy, monarchy or dictatorship. Nor is it necessarily opposed to all these. Similarly Swaraj in the sense of economics neither preaches nor opposes Capitalism Socialism or communism. Even in the context of religion Swaraj, as it is used by Gandhi, neither preaches nor opposes atheism, theism, monotheism, pantheism or panentbeism. Swaraj, thus in Gandhi, is an unique concept to be understood to the Vedic sense. It is a symbolic avowal of the ultimate in us, an espousal of the Upanisadic Unity Sarvam Kalvidam Brahma.

The Equation:

In the Upanisads we find an equation: the Atman-Brahman equation. Atman, representing the ultimate in human and Brahman, the ontological truth of the universe, are declared to be not anything different. In Sankara we find the statement Jiva Brahmainana para. If Tat Tvam Asi is Upadesa Vakya; the truth declared in the context of Teaching a disciple, Aham Brahmasmi. I am brahman is the same reality in the contest of one realization. It is in this vedic sense. Upanisadic declaration only, the term Swaraj to be understood. So Understood every other concept in Gandhi derives its meaning and significance form this concept of Swaraj. In that sense it is a basic concept in Gandhi.

Stands for

Man the individual and man the social being are but two phase of the same spirit in man. Swaraj looked at from the stand point of the individual, in its Vedic sense, stands for self-realization with a capital S. Swaraj looked at from the standpoint of society, (in terms of the Upanisadic declaration - The All too is Brahman Sarvam Kal Vidam Brahma), is the obligation to strive for Sarvodaya, the welfare and the awakening of all. The two are so intermingled in Gandhi's perception of man that it is inconceivable to think of the one without the other. Two quotes from those already given will bear

repetition substantiating the point made. They are:

"...if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gain with him and if one man fails, the whole world fails to that extent"

(In search of the Supreme, Vol.1 p.60)

"We are all tarred with the same brush and are children of one and the same Creator and as such the divine powers within us are infinite. To slight a single human being is to slight those divine powers and thus to harm not only that being but with him the whole world".

(My Experiments with Truth, p.337).

Swaraj spelt as self-realization and Sarvodaya is nothing but the Gita ideal of seeing the self in all and all in the self. In Gandhi's inimitable style we have it as follows: The only way to find God, is to see Him in his creation and be one with it. This can only be done by service of all. I am part and parcel of the whole and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity."

(The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi: Navajivan 1967, p.224).

Integrates

Swaraj is a basic concept in one more respect in that it is a vital integrating link among the three societal dimensions: Personality, society and culture. "The full flowering and fruition of personality cannot be thought of without the morally obligating struggle for Sarvodaya and Sarvodaya without the blossoming of the individual's personality will be an illusion. Swaraj so interpreted in the Gandhian definition of culture and civilization, is a fundamental societal dimension.

Dynamic

In the light of what has been said by way of explanation, Swaraj cannot be a static concept. Nobody can be said to achieve purity and perfection all at once and for all time to come. To have swaraj means to be virtuous. Virtue is at once the basis of the individual and society. This virtue consists in the adoption and practice of truth and non-violence . Assiduous cultivation of virtue as a purity measure makes swaraj a dynamic concept.

E) Swadeshi

Import: Implications

Swaraj, so understood, will hopelessly remain to be an ideal beyond the reach of human beings had it not been for the concept of Swadeshi. Gandhi is reckoned as a practical idealist only because of his insistence on the swadeshi principle. Though only born in the context of boycott of foreign goods in the wake of political independence and struggle, the concept of swadeshi gets transformed into a spiritual principle in the hands of Gandhi. Swadeshi renders the ideal into the actual here and now. It is no mere promise in an eternity of time. Time bound individuals cannot have cosmic patience to wait perfection in God's good time. In the action scale of the individual's limited time. Swadeshi

ensures taking up of the one step enough for mortal beings. It emboldens the launching out of action in the faith that relative truth is but the ultimate truth for the movement of concretizing action. The one step based on the relative truth ensured, means one really ends in themselves, not merely end-creating tools alone. If is eternity in your palms, the kingdoms of God here and now. The philosophy of Swadeshi understood to mean all the above is the deusex machine concretizing every human ideal. It is derived from the Gita concept of swadharma "Swadeshi is", Gandhi says, "swadharma applied to one's own immediate surroundings"[1].

(Young India (18.6.1931)).

Social

At the level of society Swadeshi is love made concrete in the service of our immediate .neighbours. It stands for self-reliance of the basic unit of society when up to a point production is for use and not for exchange. It means non-exploitative relationship between and among nations, avoidance of dependence and eliminations of disparity between the rich and the poor. Swadeshi in (he international context makes for global interdependence and an-integrated equalitarian world society.

Individual

In terms of the body composed, of five elements, Swadeshi is nature cure. In terms of the individual witness to the spirit in man Swadeshi is truth force, soul-force, love force, brahmacharya. In the complex net work of relations that society is Swadeshi non-violence.

Hind Swaraj

Summing

Before taking leave of the reader in Hind Swaraj Gandhian lays down the following propositions where in the relationship between Swadeshi and Swaraj is clearly brought out.

1. Real home rule is self-rule or self-control.
2. The way to it is passive resistance that is soul-force or love-force.
3. In order to exert this force Swadeshi in every sense is necessary.
4. What we want to do should be done only because it is our bounden duty to do so and not on any other considerations.

Swaraj in Empire Dress

Swaraj made concrete is Swadeshi. It is the ideal rendered into the spatio-temporal mould. In the language of Indian philosophy it is the absolute coming to acquire nama-rupavikaras. Swaraj is to Swadeshi what Brahman is to Iswara. If as Dr. Radhakrishnan puts at "Iswara is nothing but

Brahman in the empiric dress even Swaraj is nothing but Swadeshi in the empiric dress. Just as Dharma becomes Swadharma in the Bagavad Gita so also Swaraj becomes Swadeshi in Gandhi.

Parallels

Goldsmith in his "Deserted Village" speaks of the village preacher 'fashioning his doctrines to the varying hour". "It is circumstances that dictate our duties" is Edmund Burke "Circumstances dictate man's consciousness" is what we have in Karl Marx. These are some of the varying expressions approximating to the Gandhian concept of Swadeshi.

Tabernacle :

Every idea, every virtue, construct perse for that matter getting rendered into the concretizing particularity is swadeshi. This is the real significance of Gandhi's saying "Swadeshi in every sense is necessary". Sans Swadeshi every ideal is ethereal without a temporary existence, a tabernacele. As the poet puts it, the ideal is without a local habitation and a name.

Interprets:

Swadeshi is a dynamic concept in that it is radically an evolving concept. It is interpreting the ideal in every new ways as suits the needs of the particular time, place and person. It is *multum in parvo*, much in a small compass.

Compromise:

Life is made of compromise. The ideal simply because it is pure, abstract and universal demands compromises that are meaningful. The principle of Swadeshi without loosing the essential character of his ideal succeeds in making compromises on nonessentials, natural to ourselves, not anything imposed from without or farfetched.

Social dimensions:

Considered from the angle of the dimensions of social reality swadeshi is not the fourth dimension but a dimension of dimensions in that it is the informing spirit, the construct of every one of these dimensions; personality, society and culture. The native endowments, the predilections and proclivities, *Svabhava* that accounts for the self constituting itself into the *jiva*, the psychophysical spiritual complex is the *swadeshi* of personality. In terms of trusteeship man acting the guardian of his body: talents , traits, and skill is the principle of swadeshi. In the net work of relations at any particular time, situation and immediate environment, it is swadeshi is society. The unique features of the centuries of historical living is the swadeshi principle in culture.

First Convert:

A reformer cannot afford to wait for others to be converted, he must take the lead of universal oppositions. Swadeshi principle requires him to be the first convert and be the one that gives meaning to all other ciphers that follows.

Village :

Swadeshi in ordering the social living of human beings consists in structurally choosing the village as the basic unit of society. The village is the geographical point that provides the occasion and ground for every dream of Gandhi. This is what Vinoba stresses when he says that Gramdan concept repression the quintessence of all Gandhian constructive ideas.

Assumptions

The Ground :

For the following assumptions, Gandhi finds the principle of swadeshi, in the viable village, the ideal human habitat.

(i) The greatest economic resource of man is man

(ii) The Social system must be able to harness man's physical moral and spiritual resources.

(iii) The principle of conservation of resources as opposed to the predery economy of the western del leads to the economy of permanence as Dr. J.C.Kumarappa calls it.

(iv) Ensuring individuality and harnessing human skills experience and insights.

(v) Self sufficiency and self-reliance based on bread-labour being the key to every growth and well-being of man and society.

(vi) Dispersal of population as opposed to the present trends towards concentration of people in human settlements with their physical and ecological hazards.

(vii) To make for a society without politics and create an ideal equilibrium state ensuring cent per cent use of earth's resources to the well being and glory of man.

F) Rediscovering Gandhi:

To question a revolutionary thinker a society can either shoot him or ebshrine him as a holy man. India reacted to Gandhi in both ways. Even the very followers of Gandhi are sceptical. Thinkers dedicated to public work have their own doubts. They say that We will have to die with the cancer of western economic development that has reached each and every part of our body. There are others in the government who in their adulation for Gandhi seek to implement his programmes through state aid and governmental machinery - the very symbol of violence. These are self-styled critics who are found to miss the wood for the tree ignoring altogetner or misinterpreting the essential Gandhi.

Illich

What happened to Karl Marx in the hands of Lenin and Stalin who had contrived to build only a state-capitalism in the name of Communism, is happening to Gandhi India. It is trends such as these

that provoked Ivan Illich to say that it would be a tragedy if India had to "reimport" Gandhi from the West.

(GPF News Letter Vol. 2, No 1, January 1978).

Wisdom from Beyond?

Just as a Max Muller to the Vedas and Upanishads and an Allice Boner and Konark Temple to Kathakali are nothing new, may be in the case of Gandhi too, we will have to wait for wisdom from shores beyond India. And just as Benedetto Croce selected what was living and what was dead in Hegel and just as contemporary. Europe and American Marxists are reinterpretting Marx, so too the like has come for those concerned with the fate of the world to reexamine the message and mission of Gandhi.

UNIT 3 - THE PRESCRIPTION (1) VILLAGE

A) Advantages... Quoting... Gandhi:

"if the village perishes India will perish too. It will be no more India. Her own mission in the world will get lost", this was Gandhi writing in Harijan (29-8-1936). Yet this warning is equally true for the whole world heading on to 2000 A.D. Gandhi's conception of village as the unit of society is anchored on the post modem perspective of quality of life, living vitally for human values. Gandhi rejects the modem urban industrial nation of 'development'. The visionary Gandhi anticipated the post modem trend, quite in advance.

If quality of life is to be the criterion and not the material afluence, then the unit of society cannot but be the village. "My imaginary village consists of 1000 souls. Such a unit can give a good account of itself if it is well organised on the basis of self-sufficiency".

(Harijan 4-8-1947)

Village as the unit of human settlement will bring about man's highest intellectual, economic, political and moral development. Gandhi writes: "When our villages are fully developed there will be no dearth in them of men with degree of skills and artistic talent There will be village poets, village artists, village artists, village architects, linguists and research worker. In short, there will be nothing in life worth having which will not be had in villages.

(Harijan, 10-11-1946)

"My ideal village will contain intelligent human beings. They will not live in dirt and drunkenness as animals. There will be neither plague nor cholera, nor small pox; no one will be idle, on one will wallow in luxury. Every one will have to contribute his quota of manual labour". (Gandhi; Bunch of old Letters, 5-10-1945). Education will be compulsory upto final basic course.

As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis. There will be no castes such as we have today with their graded untouchability. Nonviolence with its technique of

Satyagraha and non-cooperation will be the sanction of the village community...... The government of the village will be conducted by the panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers

(Harijan. 26-7-19)

This smallest unit of human settlement, should be self sustained capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defencirig itself against the world.

"The first concern of this unit will be growing its own-food crops and cotton for cloth - a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. Then, if there is more land available, it will grow useful money crops - have a village theatre school, public hall - own water works".

"Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own freedom. The law of non-violence rules him and his government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a whole world. For, the law governing every village is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his village's honour.

"Such a society" maintained Gandhi, "Is necessarily highly cultured. In it every man and woman knows what he or she want and what is more, knows the none should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour".

"The real test of independence would come not by acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused.... by educating the masses to a some of their capacity to regulate and control authority.

Finally, this society must naturally be based on truth and nonviolence which are not possible without a living belief in God meaning a self-existent, all knowing living force which inheres every other force known to the world and which depends on none and which will live when all other forces may conceivably perish or cease to act.

(PYARELAL: Toward New Horizons, p.38, 41)

Mit for man

Gandhi holds that man is not born to live in isolation but is essentially a social animal independent and inter-dependent. No one can or should ride on another's back. If we try to work out necessary conditions for such a life, we are forced to the conclusion that the unit of society should be a village or call it a manageable unit.

Equality :

In this there will be an equal right and opportunity for all. There would be equality between town dwellers and villagers in the standard of food and drink, clothing and other living conditioned. In order to realize this equality people wilt be able to produce their own necessities-of life i.e.., clothing, food stuffs, dwelling and lighting and water.

Self contained:

Gandhi persistently advocated interdependence along with independence. Let us not forget

that it is man's social nature which distinguishes him from brute creation. It is his privilege to be independent. It is equally his duty to be interdependent. It will be possible to reconstruct our villages so that villages collectively, not villagers individually will be self-contained.

(Young India, 10-6-1925)

Area Development:

When Gandhi speaks of villages collectively striving for a self contained system, he is advocating integrated area development a term from the armoury of modem planning experts. Similar having ruled out the possibility of complete self-sufficiency, he recognized the need for regional specialization and exchange of goods between regions. He also spoke of reallocation of world resources for a better living. These are notions akin to a balanced regional development, giving no room for the change that it is an insulated system.

Oceanic Circle:

The basic unit that the village is, conceived of a vital link in the chain of society. "In this structure composed of innumerable villages there will be ever-widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the later ready to perish for the circle of villages, fill at last the whole becomes one life and composed of individuals never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which there are integral units. Therefore the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it. No one... (will) be the first and none the least

(Harijan, 28-8-1946).

Non Primitivism :

Nor is it a case for village primitivism either. As early as 1936 Gandhi observed ".....there would be no objection to villagers using even the most modem machines and tools they can make and can afford to use. (Harijan. 29-8-1936). He only wanted to save villages "from catching the infection of industrialism" It is not ever true to say that he objected to heavy industries. "I do visualize electricity" shipbuilding, iron works, machine-making and the like existing side by side with village handicrafts. Hitherto Industrialisation has been so planned to destroy the village and village crafts (Harijan 27-1-1940). The Gandhi scheme permits the co-existence between city and village and for his he spelt out a sane policy, it is this: "under my scheme, nothing will be allowed to be produced by the cities which can equally will be produced by villages. The proper function of cities is to served as clearing houses for village products.

Dimensions:

There are two dimensions to the rational Gandhi offers in favour of villagism. Negatively, it was an onslaught exploitative tendency inherent in industrialism and dominated by urbanism, positively it was an attempt at establishing a non-violent social order.

The factors that facilitate a non-violent social order and reverence for every form of life In the village community are:

(1) Its occupational structure "A nonviolent occupation is... that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others ...when a man is content to own only so much land as he can till, with his own labour, he cannot exploit others. Handicrafts exclude exploitation and slavery".

(Harijan, 29-9-1940).

(2) Village life promotes the Swadeshi spirit. "Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts to the use and service of our immediate surrounding to the exclusion of more remote.

(G.A.Natesa & (ed): SPEECHES &WRITING OF MAHATMA GANDHI. Madras, 1964)

(3) The rural set up provides the milieu of every one to perform physical labour which is a great social leveller. Return to the villages means a definite, voluntary recognition of the duty of bread labour.

(Harijan, 29-6-1935)

(4) Land based economy of villages is congenial for institutionalizing the principle of trusteeship. Invoking traditional belief that all land belongs to God, Gandhi could argue that the land should be collectively owned and operated.

(5) Village unit, maturing into a Gramdan in the hands Vinoba provides the field for all of Gandhi's constructive programme. It is the reordering of the village on new foundation* More than individual charity,, it represent the collective resolve and effort of the community as a whole for the re-organisation of the village. In converting the village into a family of fraternal love and service it is tapping the power of the people to make for the rule by the people. So understood, it represents the quintessence of Gandhian thought.

Contrasted Russia-China :

Gandhi's unit of human settlement differs from that of the Soviets in Russia and the communes in China. For it will never get assimilated into formal megalithic politics - economic arrangements encountered, in Russia and China. The smallest units will serve like a buffer between the individual and the nation state, it will not allow the social energies of communities to be wholly converted into political power and be recycled through the state to exploit the people.

Uniqueness:

It also differs from experiments conducted by the Utopian socialists. For the Utopian did not tap local initiative to attack and replace the prevailing eco-system. It differs from all other attempts made else where in the world in that it is a Sarvodaya society. The concept of welfare of all replaces the modern Western concept of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It is not a structure based on administrative decentralization pre-supposing an all-powerful centre, a construct wholly

repugnant to Gandhi. Nor can the new polity be conceived as an adjunct of parliamentary system based on delegation of peoples; powêr on the basis of participation by representation. It is direct democracy involving every one adult member in the totality of community living.

Constructive programme:

The constructive programme conceived of by Gandhi for committing the villagers to the common weal and welfare of all is the training ground for forging out soldiers of the non-violent war. Not service but the spirit being service, the concept of fellow feeling for construction the Sarvodaya society is the unique thing about this proinception it comprised eighteen items; basic-education rural industries organisation of Adivasis and the peasantry labour and women, student power, Khadi, adult education, health and sanitation. Communal unit, removal of untouchability, prohibition, economic equality, provincial and national language and leaders.

Constructive programme : Its meaning and place, Ahmedabad 1945. Parallel:

The constructive programmes of Gandhi views comparison with the components of the "Totality of community Living" accepted by the U.N. conference on Human Habitat (June 1976) namely the physical requirements for housing provision for work, energy supply, transport communication, water sanitation, services for education, health, protection and welfare system of government, law, economic management and cultural facility for art recreation and leisure.

Ownership question:

The notion of private ownership has undergone a revolutionary change in the concept of Gramdan which is a continuation and fulfilment of the Gandhian dream of village Swaraj. The ownership of the land is vested in the gram sabha. But the gramsabha land may be cultivated directly or allotted to residents, including those who donated the land or others who are landless either singly or jointly and on such terms and conditions as might be determined by the sabha. Wherever there are individual allotments, the allottees are not to have heritable or transferable interest in the land so that periodical redistribution of land on an equitable basis will not be impeded. There is no provision for sale or transfer of land. The nation state does not deal with individual owners but with the village community.

Trustee:

It is an effective counter to the totalitarian dehumanization and technocratic alienation and exploitation in that it aims at deepening man's consciousness activizing the individual in the name of self-help and self-rule. It emphasizes integral relationship between man and society, everybody being indebted to everybody else in fraternal mutuality. It emphasizes that property, skills, time and energy are social assets rather than being the private assets.

San: Sins and Evils:

In such a community there is no place for the eight-deadly sins enumerated by K.Lorenz in his

Eight deadly sins of civilized man (1976) galloping urbanization, exploiding cities, fast-depleting non-renewable resources, pollution of air and water, overgrowing state power and the consequential dwarfing of man and the spectre of mass migration, unemployment and famine. For in it there is no room for the seven evils. Gandhi discovered in the modern technocratic state. Politics without principles, wealth without labour, commerce without morality, education without character, joy without conscience, science without humanity and finance without self control will become a thing of the past.

Estimate Unto This Last:

It is a settlement that is modelled after Ruski's "Unto This Last". It is a sarvodaya society in that its faith is, "that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all". In all possible ways it seeks to widenman's loyality to the entire society. Giving up the ownership of the land, man comes to think of using his very skills, time, thought and energy for the sake of society. In this endbased society ownership above the immediate necessity of life, is looked upon as theft and as a form of violence. It is a society marked for self-realization only through service and commitment to the world of one's fellow human beings. It is spiritual salvation through the commitment to fulfil primarily the basic needs of all. Against the economic doctrines of scarcity, Gandhi established the simple fact that the earth offers enough for all if one proceeds from man's need instead of the artificially acquired greeds posing as needs. It is rooted in Gandhi's faith that there is enough in this world for everybody's need but not enough to satisfy anybody's greed.

It is a society that works with circumspection to produce only those consumer goods need in the village. It will not try to accumulate barter assets for any anonymous market. The paramount pulse beat of the society is non-violence and neighbourly love in that it is committed to giving an equal share even unto this last. Each individual working for the welfare of all, tries to find out his own salvation through the instrumentality of constructive programme that promises to meet the material, moral and spiritual needs of his fellow human beings. I so far as it defines the maximum necessary for the well-being of all it is a new definition of the aims of social living.

Maximum:

The maximum necessary for the well being of all is derived with reference to a value system whose structural features broadly are (i) striving for self-knowledge and self-reliance (ii) Motivation based on spiritual values rooted in national culture (iii) Respect for virtue, wisdom and moral capability were truth, non-violence and self-denial dominate (iv) Organizations based on sharing and Co-operation, become powerful as against those of possessives competitive instinct, (v) harnessing the good in man, society is to be integrated as one human family (vi) combining the economic resources properly and purposefully employment for all is granted (vii) Self-sufficient economy based on primary, needs national solvency and world solidarity (viii) Small scale organisations for labour intensive vitalization of human potential that go with protection of environment both physical and psychological (ix) Balanced rural and urban awakening through moral regeneration (x) Laws of righteousness and power of the people prevail with no hierarchy of a ruling class.

Voluntary poverty and simple life, rejecting privileges of every kind, are the hallmark of this society. It recognizes that all have this same right of eayding their livelihood from their work. It states that the life of a labourer the life of the tiller of the soul and the handcrafts man is the life worth living.

Sources-Jordens :

Scholars are not wanting who wish to trace Gandhi's attempt to introduce spiritual asceticism into the world of politics and social service, to sources other than Indian. J.T. Jordens writing in 1970 says: "Gandhi's asceticism, though individually concerned with purification of spirit and accumulation of power, is totally subsumed under his larger idea of service... And whereas the tradition tends to foster-feelings of achievement, superiority and even arrogance... humble striving characterized his life to the last... In a tradition where the distinction between the "renounced" and the involved man-in the world was a basic one, he strove to be both."

Not alive

Yet a little reflection, will however, show that spiritual life and a concern for the welfare of the world go hand in India, It was ever insisted mat salvation can be had only through the social obligations unto fellow beings in society. The Gita's ideal of 'Sthitha prajna' and "Lokasangraha" is enough to show that Jordens stand cannot stand examination. King Janaka is a raja-rishi. Rama and Krishna are avatars who had a vital role in the run of society and the state. The concept of one's station and its duties might have had only an ethical and social significance in Plato, Hegel and Bradley. But in the Gita the concept of svadharma has spiritual significance and importance. It is to this tradition only Gandhi's conception of small communities of self-less working men and women voluntarily devoting their lives to the realization of God through the observance of absolute vows and service of the very poor is to be traced. Although Gandhi was greatly influenced by his study of the lives of saints such as Francis of Assist as Adi H Doctor shows, and although one of the easiest examples of micro-community living that he witnessed and which greatly influenced him, was a colony of Trappist monk. In South Africa as we read in the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, (Vol I. pp.180-86), we can only highlight the similarities in the respective responses of Gandhian the early monastic luminaries to the prevailing social conditions of their time.

Utopian Element :

Like the proponents of a living Utopianism by Proudhon, Kropotkin, Landaver and Buber, Gandhi did believe in the necessity of an organic restructuring of society. The social theory of Gandhi has often been derived as "Utopian" by many critics. But it must be kept in mind that to Gandhi the theoretically possible or the ideal was not the same as the really practicable. This distinction is purposely made by Gandhi so that what he wanted was the people should strive to their utmost to approach the ideal to the maximum possible extent without a complacent resting on the oars. In this attitude of Gandhi there is no question of confusing the ideal with the possible as is not making this distinction was suggested by; some of his own disciples like J.B. Kripalani. It is a case of deliberate omission. His Utopianism springs from a passionate and profound concern with; the practical. Just as Euclid's point or straight line is still kept, despite the practical difficulties, even so Gandhi must

have felt that faith in Utopian ideals do act as potent factors in the dynamics of changing the realities of life and history. Oscar Wilde opined that a map of the world that does not include, Utopia is not worth glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which humanity is always leading. Seeing a better country, humanity sets sail, progress is the realization of Utopias, (quoted will Durant: The Pleasures of Philosophy p.319). The Gandhian concepts of "Swadeshi" "one-step enough for me" "relative truth : the Absolute truth of the moment" point to the fact that he never mistook the ideal for the real.

Ordered Anarchy:

Village swaraj of Gandhi is a state of ordered anarchy in which every one is his own ruler. The legitimations of structural violence and coercion has stimulated a search for more human paradigms; based on a decentralized community. But anarchies tradition in the west is commonly associated with techniques of terrorism and violence as shown by James Jole in an edited work *Anarchism To-day* [1971 p. 214]. But Gandhi's Sarvodaya a society is a classless stateless democracy of autonomous village communities based on non-violence, non-exploitation renunciation, bread-labour and largest measure of local and individual initiative.

Not Individualism:

Nor is it unrestrained individualism either. Freedom is conceived as a collective responsibility. It is interpreted to mean harmony between man and woman in nature. It is a spontaneous one which connects the individual with the world without eliminating his individuality. Without the Gandhian insistence on collective responsibility, "individuals". Robert Nishet, shows, love even the capacity for independent, creative living. (Robert Nishet, The quest of community 1953, p.14) Emile Durkhiem discovered the highest rates of suicide and insanity are found at levels of society in which moral and social individualism is greatest [Emile Durkheim : "Suicide", (1893) the final chapter]

Ancient Panchayat :

Nor is this village society alien to the genius of the soil of India. The panchayat pattern of decentralized democracy envisaged in the Gandhian ideal village community has been in vague in India from time immemorial. Dynasties after dynasties tumbled down revolution succeeded revolution, but the village communities remained the same. A host of eminent writers - Henry Marie Munro, Elphin tone. Metcalfe and others have left us a living pen-picture of India's ancient system of self governing village communities.

e) Neighborhood - The quest:

Down the ages, for one reason or the other, men have thought of a small community as the ideal ordering of human settlement Plato's Republic advocates only a small city-state with a population of just five thousand. Aristotle wrote that a populous city can seldom if ever be governed properly. "Cities are" Rousseau averred, "the abuse of the human species, at the end of a few generations in them, races perish or degenerate and it is necessary to renew them. This renewal always comes from the country".

Democracy:

For an effective functioning of the principle of democracy, the small community is the cherished ideal of the ages. Direct democracy in the Greek city states was possible only because they had a population of not more than a few thousands. G.D.H.Cole is credited with having once made the remark that he doubted whether the common man in England was capable of maintaining effective democracy which, while conceding the right to be consulted secures the crazy in any unit larger than a parish or an urban district council. 'If democracy is to be real, it should be a direct participatory demo-commitment of every individual to the will of the community.

Man's limitations:

This is possible only if it is a small commune of limited number of people. Gandhi is categorical in asserting that man's capacity for service and identification in love with his fellow human being will be concrete and real only in the neighborhoods of a village community. The Christian ideal of love thy neighbour is born of the wisdom that the touch stone of universal love and brotherhood of humanity lies in loving one's neighbours. Love of all and loyalty to mankind in the absence of a moral commitment to one's neighbours in the immediate surrounding has always become a fact of sentimental euphoria if not altogether a matter of shilbboleth nonsense.

Direct Participation

The neighbourhood of the village, therefore, is the ideal structure for the effective functioning of a true democracy. The concept of representative democracy is the outcome of the evil qualities of human nature that tends to run riot in its capacity for abstract thinking paving the ways for alienation - and dehumanization representative democracy. 'It is a mockery of the democratic ideal in that is common experience that on occasions, we find it difficult to give expression to our own views and thereby represent ourselves properly. If no man is sure of what the really wants, and if even then it is difficult to represent ones own views, than participatory democracy of directly involving, every one in the decision making process is the nearest human approximation to the ideals of the democracy. Therefore the concept of participation by representation is just a rule to conveniently deceive ourselves into thinking that anything done in the name of democracy can pass for real democracy.

Outdated :

In the historic context of today's world, representative democracy has outlived its purpose. The well known Spanish thinker Salvadorde Madariaga said, "If there is one conclusion we can draw without fear of being mistaken, it is that direct universal suffrage for electing national parliaments is not a truly democratic instrument. It begins rather to the arsenals from which totalitarian arms issue". Where democratic states are no better than totalitarian states, as we had seen earlier, it is an irony of circumstances that every form of government in modern times however autocratic or dictatorial prefers to look upon itself as an instance of Guided Democracy or Dictated Democracy or Directed Democracy.

Essence:

Therefore the question is not whether it is a democracy through ballots or through bullets, but whether the true ideal of democracy is the informing spirit of all human relations and activities. The essential point of importance to be kept in mind is whether the ideal, of liberty, equality and fraternity, are understood in terms of the spiritual moorings of man. For, except in the context of the spiritual being of man, liberty perforce will become licence, equality a meaningless conformity and fraternity a farce. Faith in the sell of man, and in the far off divine event, unto which the whole of humanity is moving will alone in the ultimate analysis account for the claim of liberty. If it is not for the fact that self is in all and all in the self, the spiritual unity of the Gita, the idea of equality will not stand a moment's examination. For neither, in physique nor in intellectual and moral acquirements can man be considered equal. Barring the truth that any injury to fellow human beings is spiritually an injury to one's own self, the notion of fraternity has nothing substantial about it. As Swami Vivekananda once put it, the question "why should I be moral"? Cannot be adequately answered except in terms of the spirit in man even so democratic have no significance what so ever except in terms of the spiritual constitution of man.

Historical processes:

The link between religion and democracy becomes patently clear when we consider faith, hope and charity as the anthropological powers and possibilities that constitute the historical process. He who has no faith in himself is the most irreligious man on earth declared Swami Vivekananda. Rooted in this faith alone man can hope for a better future. Every peep into the future, demands the charity of understanding, the limitations of man in the present. The actualization of these decisive potencies must be in liberty, equality and fraternity. It is democratic ideals that will give substance to the religious content of the spirit in man. Liberty corresponds to faith and decision in the name of man; equality to hope and expectation in the name of liberty and fraternity to charity as the realization of freedom and equality in a universal community.

Fraternity :

Of the three ideals, fraternity is fundamental because it is basically a foundational virtue that promises to secure the other two ideals of liberty and equality. Love alone decides whether the granting of liberty and equality is real. Without true love, the arrangements for liberty and equality can only be either mechanical or atleast be equal. History has witnessed the experiment in building an ideal community on the basis of either liberty alone in the hope that equality and fraternity will follow suit or on that of equality and alone relegating fraternity and liberty as of no consequence. If the former is the experiment of the so called democratic status, the latter that of the totalitarian states acting in the name of socialism. Both are dismal failures in that they are not socialism whose basic ideal is love. Franternal love is basic because once it is granted, the reality of liberty and equality will come to be guaranteed.

Illustration

The institution of family best illustrates the point that true love concedes the substances of

liberty and equality. In the context of filial love and fraternal bonds and mutual self-giving and self-sacrifice, nurtured by fraternal love in the family, the problems of liberty and equality do not either arise or are settled amicably in many cases. Any failure in this respect is but an exception and exceptions only prove the rule. It will explain why family is a force to reckon with despite all the dehumanization of a factory civilization.

Familial basis

If love is to be a force, if fraternity is to be the cementing factor and if its expression in non-violence is to be the law of societal relations, then the ideal structure will be the village to be organized on a familial basis. It is, in not ignoring this dimension of society and at the same ensuring all the measures at personal, social and cultural levels, that Gandhi stands unique, as a revolutionary thinker.

Fall of Kinship

The violence of military imperialisms and the exploitative violence of economic imperialisms are responsible for the fall of kinship in the west, writes Robert Nisbet. Erich From associates the destruction of small scale organic with the disintegration of which he calls "primary bonds" - the individual's identification with nature, clan and religion. Man has no choice but to unite himself with the world in the spontaneity of love and productive work or clan to seek a kind of security by such ties with the world as destroy his freedom and the integrity of the individual self. Robert Nisbet in Social and Philosopher (1976) shows that "if the quest for community is the essence of western social philosophy, conflict is and has been from the very beginning the indispensable context". Even the moastic, Utopian and anarchist elements in quest of an ideal community have not succeeded in finding an alternative paradigm because they did not give consideration to love as the basis of society. The dialectic or internal contradiction within these attempts, have always led to the indispensable content of conflict which is primarily responsible for the fall of attempts at building an ideal community.

Structurally Ideal

The village swaraj of Gandhi and the Gramdan concept of Vinoba are attempts at raising community living on a familial basis of fraternity and love, the family that includes the whole of humanity in the immediate surrounding of these village structure. Its cry is welfare for all, awakening of all. Structurally it is the ideal settlement because the nighbourhood provided by the village ensures preserving the sacred quality of every form of human relations.

Relations

Interactions of man with man, man with nature, man with God are ends in themselves. As Martin Buber points out in his work I AND THON (1970) the purpose of relation is relation itself - touching the "you" for as soon as we touch a "you" we are touched by the breath of Eternal life. When all living beings are ends in themselves when every things around us are but symbols and signs of divinity,

every relation, every interaction every happening nay the things perse acquire a sacred quality. It is in destroying this sacred quality the factory civilization of the material West succeeds in dehumanizing man, denaturing nature itself. Deprived of their sacred sanctity human relations between husband and wife, father and son, teacher and taught, master and servant nay conceivable relations all, for that matter, lose their spiritual nature becoming just the means to ulterior ends. Contacts get deprived into a contract. Love is desecrated and we become traders. Marriage itself is just a contract and its spokesman is George Bernard Shaw; "If prostitution is a contract for a night, marriage is nothing but a contract for life". Village community structurally has everything ideal to preserve and promote this pristine quality of interactions and things, so much so in the words of Immaunel Kant, we come to live, move and have our beings as members of the kingdom of ends and accordingly so act.

D) The critique : The Charges

Recently it has been pointed out that there is a theory gap and praxis-lag in Gandhi's promotion of ideal village. [T.K.Ommen : "Gandhi and village : Toward A critical Appraisal" (Gandhi Marg, Vol.II, Number 10, Jan 1981, pp.588 & 595]. The theory gap it is averred, lies in the nature of individual-group relationship postulated by Gandhi. Not with standing the plea for balance between individual freedom and social restraint Gandhi hoped: "The individual being, pure, scarifies himself for the family the latter, for the village, for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation, the nation for all" a hope in consonance with his notion of oceanic circles. The individual is expected to be in permanent readiness to sacrifice himself at the altar of society?" If individual ceases to count, what is left for society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automation and society is ruined."

Having begun quoting Gandhi, the learned critic, proceeds to draw out three assumptions in the foregoing sayings of Gandhi. They are: 1) the interest of the individual and the group are harmonious. 2) Individual and altruistic orientation can co-exist and 3) The balance between individual freedom and social restraint can be struck.

The critic then proceeds to refer the basic dilemmas involved in the above assumptions. Secondly translating these assumptions into empirical realities is felt to be "problematic" particularly in a village community characterized by continuous face-to-face inter-actions, long standing ties of caste, kin and territory. "Such a community" it is pointed out," ignores individual interests, interests suppresses individual autonomy, freedom and initiative. In order that the interests of the village as a whole are pursued, individuals should have the capacity to transcend their ties of family and kin, caste and class. An altruistic orientation on the part of the individual can develop only when narrow primordial ties are weakened. The practising of social restraint is meaningful only when it leaders to the welfare of a wider collectivity. The social milieu in a village society necessarily inhibits all these. That is the basic dilemma involved here. The contradiction contained in the ideal village society which emphasizes the value of primary groups and the need for the individual to show primordia, ties if he is to develop independence, altruism and service orientation to the community "as a whole".

The theory gap it is argued is not a matter of mere theoretical deduction not even the product of sociological inclination but is rooted in praxis-lag. The failure of Gramdan villages in the context of recent experiments is taken to show that the emergence of a communitarian society characterized by individual group harmony and participatory democracy stands throttled.

It is then concluded that "it has not been possible to translate Gandhi's ideas into actual practice, not so much because these ideas are Utopian but because Gandhi opted out of politics and administration". Pointing out that to the extent Gandhi renounced authority, he lost an opportunity to build a Sarvodaya Samaj, the critic submits that "the only way by which the Gandhians can succeed is to recognize this failure of Gandhi and consciously choose to participate in politics and take up positions of authority and power in state administration".

The Answer

A careful reading of this Lesson will provide the necessary corrective perspective and the answers to the problems raised above in criticism. Therefore only a brief answer will suffice. The following points by way of answer will be made (i) Why state power is taboo in Gandhian thinking (ii) difficulties and failure only show that even when we think we have succeeded it can only be an approximation to the ideal of Sarvodaya society and (iii) The question whether mere is any theory-gap?

(i) State-power is only a symbol of man's lost innocence. The authority behind it is only violence in the form of police, law court army etc. Swarajya means the power of man, where every one force that he is the ruler of his affairs power belongs to all. It is a unique thing. It is lokaniti-call it Swaraj or Sarvodaya. To bring it about politics is to be destroyed. He who cuts does not climb the tree. He who would only lop the branches will claim the tree. But we want to cut the tree of politics at the base. We have to clear it off not only in India but in the whole world. Awakening the masses and cutting at the root of state power is the message and mission of Gandhi. "Where there is ethics, the state goes and there is the state, ethics cannot be". Self governing people in moral sense is what is wanted.

Can we not retain the power of the state as a transitional measure? Is not keeping away from politics depriving ourselves of a very effective instrument of service? Are not the communists consolidating the powers of this state for distinctive goal, of the state withering away.

The answer is this: every period is a transitional period. It was so; will be so. So, we must make up our minds and begin today itself what must be done "Back to villages" is Gandhi's clarion call. Gramdan for Sarvodaya loka shakti based on freedom, compassion and equality shall be our work. Compassion shall be the ruling principle, the foundation on which human society should be reorganized a the faith that such compassion is possible. We shall work for this, loka shakti to manifest itself and conquer violence. He who compromises this ideal cannot bring about a non-violent social order. Even as a transitional measure let us not compromise. If anything, let the government power be subordinate to people's power. Let service, be the Queen and state-power, in the transitional period, be its handmaid. Name is greater than form and so Gandhi wanted Congress to turn itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh. The notion that destiny is not in our hands must be struck down. Technology has rendered politics out-moded.

(ii) Every failure is but a stepping stone to success. Heroism lies in rising every time we fall and not in never failing at any time. The failure of the Gandhian villages is only a challenge to be met within a community ridden by long standing ties of caste, kin and territory. Difficult problematic, sure to face failures, for the goal is Sarvodaya. It is not possible to fully implement it because it means seeing God face to face. Remembering that in Euclid's geometry the figures are always imperfect let us march on with faith in the Gita's assurance, "Arjuna, in this, no effort is ever lost".

(iii) The theory-gap. The question is whether there is one? It is necessary to recall what Vidhura had Said in miscontext. After passing from the individual to the whole world through the sacrifice of the intermediate units of the family, the village, (the district, the province and the nation and the world, Vidhura goes on to point out that for the sake of Atman, the whole world might be sacrificed. It is Upanisadic wisdom that Atman, the spiritual verity of the individual and Brahman the cosmic reality of creation *perse* are not any thing different in any way, but one and the same only. This Atman-Brahman equation is the bed-rock of certitude upon which the whole of Hindu thought is structured. It is only a hint at this that is we have when Ruskin says that the good of the individual is in the good of all.

Once the purity of primordial ties is ensured, there is no contradiction in emphasizing the value of primary groups. Independence and altruistic service orientation go together and can coexist in the spiritual being of man, the individual. If village is the basic unit of society, individual is the centre of that village community and as such the primacy of the individual to any social unit is not lost sight of in Gandhi.

The Archimedean Point which the bulk of Gandhian thought rests, is the individual. Every effort of Gandhi is of and for the individual. The individual is the subject as well as the object, the means as well as the end. "I am the truth, I am the way, I am the life", is Jesus Christ in me Bible to stress the fact that God should be the centre of every activity. It is this same idea that is sought to be conveyed when Gandhi speaks of the individual as the centre of all social life, activities and institutions. But it must be noted that the term "individual" in this context has a special meaning. It stands for one who is rid of all impurities and failings of moral man. Gandhi has no hesitation in seeing God in the individual "He who has completely destroyed the 'ego' becomes an embodiment of truth. There is no harm in calling him God". [Quoted in, *In Search of the Supreme*, vol. II, (1961), p.10].

God in the individual alone is the subject as well as the object, the means as well as the end. At the point of the spirit or self of individual we arrive at the Atman-Brahman equation of non-quality. Therefore there is no question of any theoretical gap in the Gandhian conception of village swaraj and the role of the individual in it.

There are very many occasions, when Gandhi chooses to use different terms and expressions when he thought he has God in his mind. A careful reading of Gandhi will show that people, life, spirit moral law, truth, non-violence are some of them, and the terms, individual is one among them.

UNIT - 3 THE PRESCRIPTION (2) DECENTRALIZATION

(A) Political - The concept

In his call "Back to villages" Gandhi finds a key to decentralization in every respect. Gandhi found that centralization as a system is - inconsistent with the non-violent structure of society. For him state is the symbol of violence. Through his concept of decentralization in the ordered anarchy of his village republics Gandhi was trying to find an alternative to issues like arbitrary state power, unlimited violence, dependence on government and the consequent lack of the individual initiative and local participation and commitment, economic exploitation, removal of poverty, depletion of natural resources and to a host of social problems.

Not isolated

Decentralization is not an isolated concept in Gandhi. It is shaped by other concepts and ideas. Gandhi's complex and dynamic personalty is so original and unique, that it encompasses the whole range of issues and problems in human affairs. Ahimsa, truth, swaraj swadeshi, non-violence, trusteeship, bread-labour are all Gandhian constructs that give shape and content to the concept of decentralisation. In fact no concept in Gandhi is to be understood in its isolation.

Down the ages :

The concept of decentralization is not of recent origin. it has been much discussed and debated for a long time by economic thinkers, political scientists and social analysts. In A Guide to Modern Politics, G.D.H. Cole writes: "Democracy is hostile to centralization or it is a spirit which wants freedom to manifest itself immediately and on the spot wherever the need for the repression of a collective will arises; to channelize it and to make it flow into a single channel is to destroy its spontaneity and to make it unreal". In his Reith Memorial Lectures, Bertrand Russell says that "the death of Art and prophecy in the present age is an inevitable result of the fact of society being centralized and organized to such a degree that individual initiative is reduced to a minimum:. Aldous Huxley affirms that the political road to better society is the road of decentralization because "obedience is rarely creative in a highly centralized state, it becomes mechanical and inert". Lewis Mumford recommends the building up of "small communities, in the open country" because such communities become the proper training ground for a true and vital democracy. In his work Central planning in Poland John Michael Montias writes that even in totalitarian countries experience has shown that centralization leads to the stilling of local initiative and waste in channeling information back and forth from the peripheries to the centre. Just as writers, social reformers, political philosophers, like the anarchists, early socialists, modern pluralists and liberal socialists emphasized the concept of decentralisation of economic and political power of the state, even so Gandhi maintained that "true democracy could not be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It has to be worked from below by the people in every village".

(Harijan 18-1-1948).

1) State

The state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the state is a soul-less machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.

Since state is the embodiment of all centralization of power, any increase in the power of the state is quite repugnant to Gandhi. While apparently trying to do good by minimizing exploitation, the state does the greatest harm to humankind destroying individuality. Commitment of the members of the community by local participation and individual initiative is at the root of all progress.

Size of location

A communitarian or equal share of all in the Governmental productive and distributive systems and functions of the state is necessarily related to the size and location of the state. The more distant the location and concentration of power; the greater is it in volume and the capacity for abuse, because the means of control over it, are also distant and circuitous. Delegation tends to create parasitism. In every area of power; not the least in the political sphere. The nearer the location of power, the greater the control over it and the less its volume and, chances of abuse. Better sharing in all the processes of governing, producing distribution is possible when these powers are locally present. The socio-political arrangement made for the locality can then be extended to the relation between the various locality self governed communities.

Limitations

There is a limit to the power of the state even in an enlightened democracy. No man can be made moral by state legislation. The essence of morality lies in independence of will, voluntary effort, a willing obedience to the dictates of reason. "No action which is not voluntary can be called moral - so long as we act like machines, there can be no question of morality. If we want to call an action moral, it should have been done consciously and as a matter of duty". [Gandhi quoted: Gopinath Dhawan: The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, Navajivan, 1946, p.282].

Rousseau's concept of "forcing man to be free" has led to the creation of totalitarian states. This is the subject of K.R.Popper's work Open Society and its Enemies. The mental and moral growth of the individual will be rendered possible only under decentralization. It is ideas such as these T.H.Green writes that : "will not force the basis of the state".

Negative

In his immortal work Principles of political obligation, T.H.Green makes it clear that the function of the state can only be negative. Police work in the civil society and military action, for the protection and preservation of the constitution of the state is all that the states' power can do. It can help provide conditions that will be congenial to the mental and moral growth of the individual. Its functions can only be negative; it cannot positively do-anything not even help the morale, growth of man. However non-interfering or enlightened it is, in the ultimate analysis, it will amount to conditioning the growth of the mind of the individual.

Welfare concept

The concept of welfare state, the upshot of the so called socialistic concerns will end in a farewell state robbing the individual of all dignity and moral worth. Welfare in what sense, for whom and by what methods are always eternal problems for which no state, be it totalitarian or democratic can find the moral answer. It will end only in undermining the freedom and individuality of the people. The nearest approach to the ideal growth and moral worth of the individual lies in a direct democracy that obtains in the immediate neighbourhood of a village.

(2) Sovereignty - The Individual

Sovereignty vests in every one who is his own ruler. "He governs himself in a manner that he respects the freedom of his neighbour and all such activity, there is no political power because there is no state".

(Young India, 2-7-1931, p.161)

Implication

The most remarkable implication of making the government a peace keeping servant of society is to undermine the nation of sovereign states. Indeed national sovereignty fades out of the picture as a fiction and antiquated anarchism of this age. Sovereign nationalism has been a lever of many wars and plunge the nations in global Cataclysm. Critics have not failed to notice as to how the concept of nation-state has corroded the very thought of communist states. Communism is sought to be organized in terms of the nation-state. Russia and China are not able to work together only because of the fact they are Communist organized on the principle of national sovereignty. What a far cry from Karl Marx's appeal: "Workers of the World Unite".

Avoids war

By distributing power and stressing interdependence and by locating sovereignty in the individual man, Gandhi cuts the ground from under the sovereignty of the nation states especially when it is understood as the right to wage war. Even defensive war is violent and therefore not acceptable to Gandhi. In his scheme there is no need for war because non-violence non-cooperation will be the ultimate sanction of society. Not killing, not punishment not even coercion, but conversion is the goal of Gandhian Satyagraha. Vinoba goes a step further in refining the concept of non-violent resistance. It is just nonviolent assistance to help in the right ways.

Every Community

Sovereignty would be in every local Community and in no single community or group of communities. The important thing is that every community has its local self-government, that is self-determination in what is purely local, while remaining open to serve and supply the other communities in need. Therefore it would not exploit that need for its own economic or political self aggrandizement. Thus, there can be little room for either colonial or military empires.

Loose entities

Within the scheme, then states and all their historical conventions and contractual relations are only provisional practical arrangements which may, by no means, claim any absoluteness or finality. Even a world-parliament and a world-policing force would not be sovereign powers, but a co-ordinating agency of the world's economy and a supervisory guardian of the world's peace. Nations which would be loose entities, would have liasion bodies with no sovereignty and with no military power, i.e., the power to wage war. Sanction would have to be moral to a lesser extent economic and these again could not be prolonged indefinitely. Those parts which wish to teach the erring regions would have to undertake some suffering on themselves. Thus suffering, voluntarily imposed will have place in political pedagogy; even though this would be the last and not the first resort.

Privatization

The political factor of modem warfare is national sovereignty and the economics of modern politics is the privatization of the resources at all levels. If the privatization of property and resources at an individual level is the basis of inequalities and violence among individuals, and is characterised as evil, the same arrangements existing among nations cannot be elevated to the status of justice and virtue. What is morally wrong can never be politically right. This is what we learn from the encounter of the pirate with Alexander-The Great in history. Gandhi's idea of the new privatized public trusteeship must inform and substitute every narrowly and privatically conceived nationhood.

The Ideal

N.K.Bose, the anthropologist and one-time secretary to Gandhi writes: "Gandhi firmly held that if a small community began to rebuild its life of work and sharing and if the facts become duty known to their neighbours, the community would gain a degree of moral stature which would help to spread the good news all over the world if even that there was aggression from within or without, the community, would try to defend itself by means of non-violent non-cooperation. The willingness of the non-violent non-cooperator to share whatever, he was with any one who is genuinely in want and his quiet courage in the defence of the new order of life will eventually touch the heart of the aggressor and pave me way for his conversion".

The way

But how to begin the translation of the Sarvodaya ideal into a practical reality? As already indicated we must go back to villages and begin the work to-day itself. At the same time, let the state power be the hand maid of self-rule, the sovereign of the service-society. Tolstoy might wait for perfecting the individuals in the hope that existing violent institutions would naturally wither away. But not Gandhi, the practical idealist. Although he wanted individuals in unison to build up the new life, he also held that we must resist evil institutions. That is what is to be had in the work, The Meanings of Gandhi, edited by Paul F.Power (1971). However Gandhi did not live long to carry out his plan.

Indicated

Yet the Gandhian way might broadly be indicated. No plan can take place in nationalistic isolation. The right frame of reference for any plan today is the world-frame; its nationalistic sovereignties. A self-denying ordinance seems to be called far from every national government transferring power to the local population from which it has derived its own power. In the new constitution, trusteeship to humanity at large, must substitute the concept and partial of privatization at all levels. An altogether new kind of commune open to every individual member and to every other community would be the seat of its own autonomy. Autonomy is riot sovereignty and hence it excluded the right to wage wars however holy its causes might be.

Individual freedom would be spatially translatable in freedom of movement and settlement of work. The movement of personnel will be regulated according to the needs of work and leisure. All the movable resources of the earth will be moved to where they are most needed which is also where they will best serve. All means of transport will be community property. All workers will be paid equally and in kind.

(B). Economic

(1) Integrated man

Gandhi had an integral evolving approach to all problems of economic decentralization. At the centre of this approach is man's whole being to search of truth expressing it in the practice of non-violence as the law of life. For him man was an integrated being and all of man's needs and obligation were also integrated.

Humanomics

Gandhi denies any dichotomy between basic needs and human rights. He has built a model of humanistic economies. In modern time we hear of Humanomics. Gandhi's construct is so comprehensive a construct as to cover both human rights and human needs. Abraham Maslow, Mark A. Lutz and Kenneth Lux belong to this line of thinking.

Hierarchical needs

Both Gandhi and Maslow looked upon human needs in a hierarchical fashion or a preferential order. They are to be determined not by the market or a central authority but the hierarchically structured institutions. Broadly, barring individual differences, in the order of priority these needs are classified into three (i) material needs (ii) social or deficiency needs of affiliation and acceptance, safety and security status and achieyement and (iii) moral or self actualization needs for becoming what one is capable of. While it is accepted that promoting lower needs is the best guarantee for promoting human development. It is insisted that development itself will degenerate into something non human if the higher needs are not fulfilled at the right time and of the right proportion. In other words, there is always the danger of materialism becoming the enemy of man's deeper urges just as poverty is a barrier to all human development.

Organic

Compared to Maslow, Gandhi's views on basic needs are more organic that hierarchical. In a hierarchy it is not possible to distinguish between genuine needs and artificially stimulated needs. That is why, in Gandhi, not only the distinction, but even the realization of genuine needs, is part of the praxis and process.

Vindication

This organic approach to basic needs is thoroughly vindicated by Christian Bay. In his recent work Strategic of Political Emancipation (1981), Bay views needs as organic though the politic-economic system is to ensure conditions which will maximize the realization of these needs may prefer to look upon them as hierarchical.

Rejects Convention Notions

Gandhi rejected the theoretical separatism of economic issues and also the positivist non-normative definitions of economics. Even for terms normative neo classical Keynesian or Marxian definition of economics were not acceptable to him so far as they did not apt for wholly the normative directions.

Normative Approach

A non-violent economic society and the need oriented productive are among others, the two major norms Gandhi introduces into economics. Accordingly the following assumptions become inevitable.

(i) Economic is the economics of justice. People will be happy in so far as they learn to do justice and the be righteous each people to get this by hook of crook is to do them an immense harm. Gandhi, definition of economics and economic activity is in sharp contrast to the classical or modern exploitation of definitions based on the maximisation of some kind of the utility function.

(ii) Economic systems based on exploitation should is rejected. No man has any right to economic resources of society, if he did not work. It is on this basis in path he put forward his doctrine of bread labour.

(iii) Economic that included Mammon worship is not mere a false, but a dismal science. It has split death and dissaster. Material progress should not only clash with moral progress but must necessarily advance the latter.

(iv) The next logical step it equal distribution. Equal distributes means that each man shall have the wherewithal to support all his natural needs no more.

(v) Mechanization is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than are required for the work,

distribution of income and social justice have been beautifully liked by Gandhi when he said, "I want to save time and labour not for a fraction of mankind but for all. I want the concentration of wealth not in the hands of a few but in the hands of all. Today machinery helps to ride on the back of millions. The impetus behind it is not philanthropy to save labour, but greed". (Gandhi cent percent swadeshi, p.11)

(vi) Self-reliance is the maxim. It is an aspect of Swadeshi Begun as a concept for the substance of small scale indigenous industries, swadeshi broadened to include other industries as well as the whole gamut of social, economic and political problem and approaches. As dimension of the dimensions of personality, society and civilization societal reality it has blossomed into a spiritual principle in Gandhi.

Gandhian approach to the technological progress, therefore, is a part of the whole which included values, institutions and indeed the whole culture.

Advantages Multidimensional.

Relating in the central issues of growth and employment, Gandhi had innovative notions that presaged the latest thinking in economics. Growth is taken to be a function of a multitude of variables economics-political, mental, and moral. It is man as a whole not the economic man, political man or the religious man. In doctrine of economic growth the following elements are important. (1) Shifting the emphasis from maximization to optimization of production, from abundance to adequacy of production of material goods and services growth should ensure a moral balance (2) By stressing that the growth of the urban sector should not be at the expense of the rural sector the economic system is to achieve a structural balance (3) In the need for a deliberate choice of technology and for restraints on the level of production, a ecological balance between man and environment is to be achieved (4) Endorsing a proper mix of small scale and large scale industrial activity suited to local needs and national and global context, a technological balance that will optimize the social benefits is to be struck (5) To wipe out gross inequality a balance in income distribution is to be achieved, making note of die fact that the issue is to be tied up not so much with the rate of growth rejecting the western style of economic progress through urban based large-scale industries. This would revitalize the rural economy and make for a greater regional balance in the distribution of income.

Dynamic equilibrium:

In short in the Gandhian model of economic growth we have the necessary characteristics of a dynamic equilibrium where a balance is sought to be maintained between economic progress and moral progress, between the rural and the urban, between man and his environment, between small-scale and large scale technology and in income distribution.

Employment

Closely linked to this doctrine of growth is Gandhi's concern for unemployment and poverty. Mass production of western materialism will aggravate the problem of rural unemployment by

destroying handicrafts and cottage industries. C.R.Reddi once put it : "It must be manufactured not machine factored". Decentralization of economic activities governed by the doctrine of swadeshi and revival and modernization of small-scale rural industries was the Gandhian solution of the problem of unemployment. The implicit nation of service and the welfare content of employment are the distinguishing features of Gandhian approach.

Micro level concepts

If the above are concepts at the macro-level in the Gandhian doctrine of employment at the micro level too there are a few distinctive concepts. Work is not just an economic concept. It has a moral and a metaphysical import in that, work is to be a source of income without exploitation. It is an instrument of service whereby the identification with fellow human beings is achieved. When work is joy of creation we come to have every art that elevates man. When looked upon as the master-key to self-realization. Gandhi's notion of work is nothing but an explication of the Gita's doctrine of Karma.

In Gandhi's welfare economics every construct of his, presents a multi-dimensional approach in distinct contrast to the - one dimensional economic man of modern systems.

(3) Unto This Last: Lessons

If Gandhi's socio-political ideal for the new earth is found in Hind Swaraj, his socio-economic ideal is seen to be enshrined in Ruskin's Unto This Last. The first of its lesson is seen to lie in the ideal of sarvodaya insisting that the good of the individuals is contained in the good of all. Its next lesson taught Gandhi the principle of equality, stating that the lawyers's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work. The last of its lesson taught him the Value of bread labour insisting that a life of labour, that is, the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicrafts man is the life worth living.

Perspective on work

This lesson bread-labour was so much ingrained in Gandhi's blood that he wanted to interpret the Gita's injunction "not to eat without sacrifice" to mean not to eat without manual labour. To have one's bread without manual labour, be he a poet, artist or scientists, is to eat without 'sacrifice'. It is sacrifice only because in the context of modern life physical labour has come to be looked down upon preferring always the white collared jobs. Of course as always, his enthusiasm did not make him one with the communist in Russia saying, "I would rather be a shoe-black, then be a Rushkin". All talents and skills are God-given endowments and it is not for men to disown the call of his career. What is sought to be insisted is the fact that there can be no distinction made between brain work and brawn labour and to wipe out any false notions about them. Manual labour for atleast as hour a day, for all those engaged in brain work as a mark of "sacrifice" and identification with the fellow humans of plodding their way physical labour is prescribed. To die to the false notions of superiority in us, is sacrifice enough and hence the Gandhian prescription of manual labour as a "sacrifice".

Labour

The greatest and deepest implication of Unto This Last for Gandhi was the perspective it provided on labour. Labour is more important that even capital in the form of money since without labour, capital by itself is not productive and therefore is of value. As labour is the source and created of nearly all human values, its worth of labour in terms of money or say of its equivalents is to lose the sense of hietrachy of values. To interpret the worth of labour in terms of money is to create conflicting classes or castes in society - between the labourer and the capitalist on the one side and between the producer and the consumer on the other, leading into the Marxian inevitability of the class-war.

Right to poverty

Man can process nothing but his power and capacity to work and that alone is his capital. That alone is his right. All other possessions are God's. Gopal's: That is Isopanishad in its is very first verse. Down then with the very concept of men's right to own. The right of living will provide all the necessary amplitude to the use of the immediately required for sustenance and expression of personality. It is only in this special sense Gandhi is one with Prowdhan who looked upon property as "theft".

Rejects hedonism

It is only when all have their human worth recognized and their right to work respected and their basic, natural needs satisfied that every one can be happy. Class conflict is germane to me so called democratic principle of the greatest good of the greatest number calculated in terms of the hedonistic calculus of Jeremy Berttham. Hence Gandhi writes, "A votary of ahimsa cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula".

(N K.Bose, Selection from Gandhi, 1968, p.37)

Economic religion

If needs and obligations are interdependent, never standing on their own, then it brings into economics, considerations of ethics. Gandhi's statement that the greatest books on economics are the scriptural texts of the great religions is fully substantiated by Dorothy Solle. In her work Political Theology (1971), she points, "the theological propositions are not to be understood chiefly and purely as theological and that they have very important socio-political and economic contents and consequences".

Last man

Political economy should not be an autonomous, positives, descriptive science. It must necessarily be a critically normated science. When Gandhi locates progress in the realism of spirit rather than of matter and quantity, he is laying down the critical norm for political economy. Not the selfish man of greed and passions caught in the whirlpools of the Freudian unconscious "id" but the man of the community, man in the community, the Gandhian "last man" is the norm of norms for

economics. Not a single man is to be left out of the benefits of the earth and the comforts of society. The last, the poorest, the lowliest and even the lost are, in the words of Swami Vivekananda, "God the poor. God the sick. God the mind, and eye; God the wicked". It is Unto This last in Ruskin; Daridranaraynan in Gandhi.

(4) Estimate Normative

Economics, thus in the hands of Gandhi, becomes a normative anthropology. All asceticism and self-denial, all voluntary limitation of works and adoption of the life of the simple present, have their vital prime of place in terms of the community. Spirituality is not away from economics which "for the poor", as Gandhi says, "the economic is the spiritual. (Young India, 5-5-1927, p.142) "To a people famishing and ideal the only acceptable form in which God can appear is work and promise of food as wages" (Young India, 13-10-1921, p.325). Want to be spiritual? Then go not to the Himalayan caves, but to work that will be wiping out the tear from the poor. Curtail all your wants in voluntary poverty. If "being is doing", it can be service for l. Talk to the poor naked wretches of modern progress. Insult them by taking the name of God before then in vain. They will call you and your friends fiends if we talk about God to them. Th know, any God at all, a God of terror, vengeance, a pitiless tyrant" (Young India, 5-9-1927, p. 313). "It is a fundamental law of nature without exceptions that nature produces enough for our wants from day to day and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world and there would be no man dying of starvation. (Harijan, 22-2-1942). If man does not work for wiping out this man made injustice to man, he cannot be spiritual however exalted his other endowments and acquirements. Any talk to God except in terms of daily bread is to declare ourselves to be nothing, but fiends. Aserticism that preclude gloating in material affluence does not live apart from the socio-economic sphere. This integral vision is the Gandhian criterion for all economic activity.

Concretizing religion:

This socio-economic concern of Gandhi was the ethical concretization of his religious faith. Apart from these concerns, religion becomes a sterile dogma of a dead history. The anthropological virtues of liberty, equality and fraternity were for him the pragmatic testing ground for the meaningful practice of the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity.

NIEO

James Gould in a recent article in the Gandhi Marg entitled "Altruistic world Economics: Gandhi's Anticipation of a New Inter National Economic Order", observes that Gandhi infact propounded realistic solution to the world's economic problems. It not only anticipated the United Nations General Assembly's Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) but in many respects even surpassed its constructs (vol. III No.1, April 1981).

A Comparison

The Ricardian model of the so-called comparative advantages both in its classical form and in the neo-classical form still constitutes the basic design of determining international value. Taking

demands to be the determinant factor of the equilibrium terms of trade, is its classical forms and the comparative advantage of proportions of factors of production becoming more important determinant than the techniques of production is its neo-classical form. The NIEO falls to production any perspective beyond that of the Riciardian mode. Even here, two of the factors of production "raw material" and "labour" are underrated, whole the other two "capital" and "technology" are overiated in its production structure.. The Gandhian perspective of the true economics being the economics of justice which gives the important place to labour and the philosophy of work as the potent expression of the personality and self of man is yet to be incorporated in all its dimensions in the NIEO.

Secondly the concepts and actions of the NIEO are guided, dictated and built more around what at the international level should be done. Less has been talked of the Local Economic Order to be initiated by each country at country level or community or commune level. Without first determining the geography and territoriality of the human habitate socio-political economic venture as Gandhi averred, has no roots in reality.

Recent Concepts

Two concepts put forward by perspective thinkers in the recent years the "Equilibrium Stated" and the "World Game" may be examined in the context of a Gandhian reconstruction of humanity.

Equilibrium means state of balance or equally between opposing forces. The opposing forces reckoned are those causing population and capital stock to increase and causing population and capital stock to decrease. High disordered family size, low birth control effectiveness and high rate of capital investment are forces that will cause population and capital stock to increase. Lack of food, pollution, high rate of depreciation or obsolescence are forces that will make for the decrease of population and capital stock.

The word capital in this context is taken to mean service, industrial and agriculture capital combined. Thus the most basic definition of the state of global equilibrium is that population and capital are essentially stable with the forces leading to increase or decrease them in a carefully controlled balance.

World Game is a system of equation to train the kind of people the world needs to make the world's resources serve 100 percent of humanity through comprehensive design: Science central to the understanding of this system of education is the nation that politics as presently practised is obsolete. Nationalistic governments assailed by the pseudo-dorms of sovereignty fail for the very reason that they are not designed to include everybody. World Game is the brain child of Richard Buck minister fuller. The concept is called World Game because the element of play implies freedom and enjoyments.

Lacuna

But these are global reformation that do not reckon very much with the local initiative territorial commitment and national participation not to speak of the committed individual to the awakening of all in the commune. That way they are nothing but ghosts that have no feet rooted in the terra firms of truth and reality.

Structural dimension

To include everybody, to talk of global equilibrium without the structural dimension that would provide the immediate neighbourhood, is to miss me Gandhian emphasis on Swadeshi, the dimension of all dimensions. E.F. Schumacker writes: “Everything needs a certain structure. Culture needs a consciously evolved structure. The same goes for industry. In both cases the structure must be qualitative and at the same time geographical if it is to be a healthy one.” (The emphasis here Schumacker's).

In Gandhi's village commune, the basic unit of society, we have the ideal structure qualitative and geographical stressed by Schumacker. It is decentralization at every level political and social it enshrines the dimension of all dimensions, me Gandhian swadeshi in every sense of that term. It has room for very many innovations yet to come.

Discovering oneself

Man is, in that his world is and vice versa; and village commune is his world made concrete. It is only in the otherness of the other provided by the immediate neighbour-hood of the village, that I myself be disclosed. Such bounding and limitation are essential to specific being.

Personality Dimensions

More and more the situational factors of man's personality have come to be emphasized in social psychology. The social structure the role, the expectations, the position one occupies in the social hierarchy, the way one is categorized in a visible village human habitat will certainly not be the same as what obtain in the disastrous growth of modern megalopolis. The basic, unit of culture and society aiming the quality of life is the village in Gandhi.

Awakening

Man is a man for that it is that, which makes every discontent, in the ultimate analysis. In the words of, Taittriya Upanisad once you perceive the bliss of Brahman you are no longer afraid of anything in this world. All Gandhian constructs find their quiet essence of application in the village commune so much as it is the ideal approximation of a human habitat. That sun will enable awakening the basis of Brahman in man. If this succeeds not, then no human forces of big cities, no factory civilization, no developmental technology, no growth in affluence can ever hope to succeed.

Morals as norms

The village Commune has every thing necessary for this consummation because it prescribes the morals of man as the very norms of society. Man writ large is society and society writ small is man in the spiritual sense. And what is true of the family must be true of society which is but a larger family.

(Harijan, 3-12-1938)

Celebration of awareness

This commune on the familiar basis, by preserving pristine sacredness of relation of every kind imaginable will help man perceive how creation wells up in hundreds of ways. In the words of Rilke, the poet, "The play of sheer might none can grasp except one who kneels. In admiration and wonder". The village commune is so ideal a construct that man needs no miracle except that one; creation perse. Awakened to the miracle of creation, life in the village commune becomes a celebration of one's awareness.

TOWARDS A NEW EARTH, THE GANDHIAN MANIFESTO

Overview

There are three units- prognosis perspective and prescription. Prognosis and perspective focus on 'man' - in the one how we come to miss him in the other what it is to provide him. Men in Gandhi is, thought of in the holy tree - "Asvantha".

"Swaraj", "Swadeshi" and the basic unit of society are the other major concepts that are conceived by way of ushering in a new earth.

A prayerful kneel for the very things of creation is the informing spirit of this new society.

In being at once creative, dynamic, reverential, vital and prayerful. What we have is a wholesome technology a technology for man.

The reconstructed society derives its very light and strength from the liberating truth of That Thou Art - TAT TUVA MASI.

Preview Questions :

(i) Show how factory civilization ignores 'man' and to what consequences?

(ii) What does focussing on man mean in Gandhi's manifesto "The Hind Swaraj".

(m) 'Swaraj is the ideal, culture the manifestation of that ideal and science the technology for that manifestation' - Examine.

(iv) Without Swadeshi Gandhi would have been just a visionary, not the practical idealist that he is - Explain.

(v) Village, as the basic unit of society is the scheme of decentralization, Examine how for this is true.

(vi) Gandhian Technology is a revelation of life, a qualitative prescription for progress in wisdom and virtue, an efforescence for the spirit in man. Do you agree?

A HUMAN CENTRED SOCIOLOGY TO BE AND NOT TO HAVE, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL AID

Being and Having

Dr.Erich Fromm writes, "The alternative of having versus being does not appeal to common sense. To have, so it would seem, is a normal function of our life: In order to live we must have things. Moreover, we must have things, in order to enjoy them. In a culture in which the supreme goal is to have and to have more and more and in which one can speak of someone as "being worth a million dollars", how can there be at alternative between having and being? On the contrary, it would seem that the very essence of being is having that if one has nothing one is nothing".

Mahatma Gandhi emphasizes aparigraha (non-possession) as a basic virtue. His concept of trusteeship is an elaboration of this. One should not possess but he is responsible for all. He should act spontaneously for all. When M.K.Gandhi was pushed out of the train inspire of the fact he was till then travelling in a first class compartment with a first class ticket, due to racial discrimination at the Maritzburg Railway station, he thought, shivering in die cold during midnight all alone. "Should I fight for my rights or go back to India, or should I go to Pretoria without minding for insults, and return to India after finishing the case? It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation. "The hardship to which I was subjected was specifical - only the symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice I should try, if possible, to rootout the disease and suffer hardship in the process. Redress for wrongs, I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice". This is a typical example of the being made as against the having mode. If Gandhi would have considered this is a personal insult, his entire life would have been like ours.

Jesus Christ says, "For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake the same shall save it. For what is a man advantaged; if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, or be cast away". The Buddha teaches that in order or arrive at the highest stage of human development, we must not crave for possessions. Marx thought, says Dr.Erich Fromm, that luxury is as much a vice as poverty and that our goal should be to be much not to have much. Buddha, Jesus, Marx and Gandhi were able to act from the level of being mode and the whole humanity was their concern. Dr.Erich Fromm concluded (hat being and having are two fundamental modern of experience, the respective strength of which determines the difference between the character of individuals and various types of social character.

Loving An enquiry into having and being modes

Let us now take the example of how love is expressed in both the having and being mode. This would help us to understand these two different modes clearly. The entire passage is taken from Erich Fromm.

Loving also has two meanings, depending upon whether it is spoken of in the mode of having or in the mode of being.

Can one have love? If we could, love would need to be a thing, a substance that one can have, own, possess. The truth is, there is no such thing as 'love'! Love is an abstraction, perhaps a goddess or an alien being although nobody has ever seen this goodness or an alien. In reality, there exists only the act of loving. To love is a productive activity. It implies caring for, knowing, responding, affirming, enjoying, the person, the tree, the painting, the idea. It means bringing to life increasing his-her-its aliveness. It is a process. Self-renewing and self-increasing.

When love is experienced in the mode of having it implies containing, imprisoning or controlling the object one "loves". It is strangling, deadening, suffocating, killing, not life giving. What people call love is mostly a misuse of the word, in order to hide the reality of their not loving. How many parents love their children is still an entirely open question. Loydde Mause has brought out that for the past two millennia of Western History there have been reports of cruelty against children, ranging from physical to psychic torture carcesness, a sheer possessiveness, and sadism, so shocking that one that believe that loving parents are the exceptions rather than the rule.

The same may be said of marriages. Whether their marriage is based on love, or, like traditional marriages of the past, on social convenience and custom, the couple who truly love each other seem to be the exception; what is social convenience, custom, mutual economic interest, shared interest in children, mutual dependency, or mutual hate or fear is consciously experienced as 'love'... Upto the moment when one or both partners recognize that they do not love each other and they never did. Today one can note some progress in this respect; people have become more realistic and sober, and many no longer feel that being sexually attracted means to love, or that a friendly, though distant, team relationship is a manifestation of loving. This new outlook has made for greater honesty.... as well as more frequent change of partners. It has not necessarily led to a greater frequent change of partners. It has not necessarily led to a greater frequency of loving, and the new partners may love as little in did the told.

The change from "falling in love" to the illusion of having can often be observed in concrete detail in the history of couples who have 'fallen in love'. In the art of loving I pointed out that the word; falling in the phrase 'falling in Love' is a contradiction in itself. If since loving is a productive activity one can only stand in love or walk in love, one cannot fall in love, for falling denotes passivity.

During courtship neither person is yet sure of the other, but each tries to win the other. Both are alive, attractive, interesting even beautiful - in as much as aliveness always makes a face beautiful. Neither yet has the other hence each one's energy is directed to being i.e., giving to and stimulating other. With the act to marriage the situation frequently changes fundamentally. The marriage contract gives each partner the exclusive possession of the other's body, feeling and care. Nobody has to be won over any more, because love has become something one has, a property. The two cease to make the effort to be lovable and to produce love, hence they become boring and hence their beauty disappears. They are disappointed and puzzled. Are they not the same persons any more? Did they make a mistake in the first place? Each usually seeks the cause of the change in the other and feels defrauded. What they do not see is that they no longer the same people they were when they were in love with each other. That the error that one can have love has led them to cease

loving. Now, instead of loving each other, they settle for owning together what they have money, social standing, a home, Children. Thus in some cases, the marriage initiated on the basis of love becomes transformed into a friendly ownership, a corporation in which the two egotisms are pooled into one of the family.

When a couple cannot get over the yearning for the renewal of me previous feeling of loving. One or other of the pair may have the illusion that a new partner (or partners) will satisfy their longings they feel that all they want to have is love but love to them is not an expression of their being; it is a goddess to whom they want to submit. They necessarily fail with love because 'love is a child of liberty' (as an old French song says), and the worshipper of me goddess of love eventually becomes so passive as to be boring and loses whatever is left of his or her former attractiveness.

This description is not intended to imply that marriage cannot be the best solution for two people who love each other. The difficulty does not lie in marriage, but in the possessive, existential structure of both partners and, in the last analysis, of their society. The advocates of such modem day forms of living together as group marriage, changing partners, group sex, etc., by as far as I can see, only to avoid the problem of their difficulties is loving by curing boredom with ever new stimulus and by wanting to have more 'lovers' lather than to be able to love even one.

Dr. Erich Fromm has further explained the having and being modes with the help of the following items. Learning, reimbursing, conversing, reading, exercising authority, having knowledge and knowing and faith. Dr. Erich Fromm's last book, 'To have or To Be' is strongly recommended for in depth study.

Evils of the having mode

To acquire, to own, and to make a profit are the sacred and unalienable rights of the individual in industrialized society. What the sources of property does not matter, not does possession impose any obligations on the property owners. But now the question is what happens to the millions of people who are poor and living below the poverty line, Erich Fromm writes, 'of course, me obvious answer is that even people who are poor own something - and they cherish their little possession as much as the owners of capital cherish their property. And like the big property owners, the poor are obsessed by the wish to preserve what they too have and to increase it, even though by an infinitesimal amount (for instance by saving a penny hero, two cents there)."

"Further more, the greatest enjoyment is perhaps not so much in owning material things but in owning living beings in a patriarchal society even the most miserable of men in me poorest of classes can be an owner of property - in his relationship to his wife his children, his animals, over whom he can feel he is absolute master. The mothers have their own form of ownership that of the children when they are small. The circle is endless and vicious; the husband exploits the wife; she exploits the small children, and the adolescent makes soon join the other men in exploiting the women and so on".

In an industrial society, the individual is "liberated". Slavery has been abolished. The women emerge as free individuals. But the passion for acquiring, keeping and increasing property is fulfilled

in extending the area of ownership to include friends, lovers, health, travel, art objects. God, one's owns ego etc. Further persons are transformed into things; their relations to each other assume the character of ownership.

The transition from "Old is Beautiful" to "New is Beautiful" is another development of the industrial society. The mad consumption is an index of this shift. Buying a new car, is acquiring a new piece of ego. Buying a new car every two years, instead of buying every six increases the buyer's thrill of acquisition. Frequent car buying means frequent opportunities to "make a deal" - to make a profit by the exchange; a satisfaction deeply rooted in men and women today. The fourth factor is the need to experience new stimuli, because, the old stimuli are flat and exhausted after but a short while. The fifth factor is the shift from the hoarding to the marketing character.

The being mode seems to be the most natural thing for the child. But the having mode is imposed by all pervading and powerful culture and ethos. The child rebels against .the imposition but it is either put down by external authority of the child takes to protected activities and finds satisfaction in that. An example may be given. Sexual desire is one expression of independence. It is put down in most cases by taboos. But this perversion results in drowning the individuals striving. All data indicate the heteromonous that hetefomonous interference with the child's and the later person's growth process is the deepest roots of mental pathology especially of distributiveness.

The person, often is wrongly considered as a lasting and in destructible person. But he is a process.

But human existence requires what we have, keep take case of and use certain things in order to survive. This holds true for our bodies, for food, shelter, clothing and for the tools necessary to produce our needs. This form of having may be called essential having because it is rooted in human existence. This is an absolute need and different from characterological having which has been described above.

The necessity of the being mode

We are more familiar with the having mode than the being mode since the former is prevalent in our culture. Having refers to things and things are fixed and describable. Being refers to experience and human experience and is in principle not describable.

Dr. Erich Fromm describes the being mode thus. "The mode of being has as its prerequisites independence, freedom and the presence of critical reason. Its fundamental characteristic is that of being active, not in the sense of outward activity, of business, but of inner activity, the productive use of human powers. To be active means to give expression to one's faculties, talents, to the wealth of human gifts with which - though in varying degrees-every human being is endowed. It means to renew oneself, to grow, to flow out, to love, to 'list', to give. Activity in the modem sense refers only to behaviour not to the person behind behaviour. It makes no difference whether people are active because they are driven by external force. Like a slave, or by internal compulsion, like a person driven by anxiety".

Modern man seems to be passive. Modem man is unfree, incomplete, pathologically dependent, and absolutely "passive".

The being mode is related to reality and the having mode is connected with appearance. We perceive reality; our senses are set for that. But we suppress the reality often. The will to give, to share and to sacrifice are the manifestations of the being mode. False love is mutual selfishness and the true lover loves the whole world in his/her love for a specific person. Anxiety and insecurity .is absent in the being mode. There is joy solidarity and forgiveness in the being Mode. This mode means action here and now. One is not in the chains of the past. The past is under his control and he acts profoundly in the present and moves on. In the having mode, one is controlled by the past and the dreams about the future always encircle him/her. He/she is the slave and victim of the past and tries to 'have' the future. In the process one loses the present.

The decision by the Federal Republic of Germany to kill 260,000 cows by March 1985 to reduce milk production under an European Economic Community Programme is an example for the having mode. The EEC has called for a reduction in milk production by two million tones in 1984-1985. Not only that, the EEC has plans to destroy 800,000 tones of fruits worth more than Rs.408 crores. This is due to their agricultural policy of stabilizing market prices in a harvest year by destroying surplus fruit and vegetables when some 150 million people of Africa are condemned to starvation deaths. It is estimated that the cost of this destruction alone can support one million Africans for a year. The profit motive and the market economy of the EEC are a standing monument of the having mode. This insensitivity can be avoided only by adopting the being mode which stands for co-operation and mutual aid. Mutual and among the people in one community and between peoples of the nations of the world. Then only the gap between the haves and the have riots, between the developed and the developing countries can be closed. A new culture, a new mode of life based on the being mode and mutual aid can save the world.

The New human and the society

Mahatma Gandhi wanted to redirect the human civilization towards a new goal. The new Human whom Gandhi visualized seems to inherit the following character : I) The being mode 2) Mutual Aid and 3) The life instinct. These three incombination would constitute the nonviolent civilization where welfare of all will be achieved. Truth will prevail in the civilization. Equality, and Justice and fraternity will flourish. Human will emerge as Superhuman. His consciousness will reach higher levels.

Today human is at the turning point of history. The tremendous progress of science and technology has created an 'era of plenty' for a few and destruction through war and pollution to all. Men has to change the course of civilization and this is possible only if we change our mode of existence from the having mode, competition mania and death syndrome to the being mode, mutual aid style and life syndrome. Unless this qualitative change takes place, all our efforts to set things in order are bound to fail. Disarmament talks are bound to fail; the Environment is likely to be polluted more and more. "Love of death" is increasing. People want to commit suicide and destroy others. Once the core of Man changes, the outward problems will automatically change. The Arms race, the environmental pollution, poverty and hunger, suppression and torture, colonialism and imperialism,

totalitarianism, and fascism, exploitation and cruelty are all only symptoms and there is no use in attempting to 'suppress' or 'cure' them. They are the indicators of a serious disease, the all pervading and destructive cancer - the having mode, competition mania and death syndrome. The cure lies in replacing them with the being mode, mutual aid style and life syndrome.

The human centred sociology, in Gandhian vision, is in fact universal in character. Here "human" includes male, female, children, people of all sects, classes, religions, languages, ideologies, etc. Further here human beings are in reformational relationship with all other living and nonliving beings.

FROM ANUVRAT TO GLOBAL ETHICS; OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

The Historical setting :

The growth of science and technology in western Europe since the fourteenth century coupled with their spirit of conquest and domination and thirst for power resulted in the discovery of "New world" and colonization of many parts of the world. It is often customary to argue that "Science and technology" is neutral like a knife and one can use it for good or bad purpose. But the reality is, that there is an inbuilt value orientation in Western science and technology. The western world was deeply involved in the quest for power, domination, conquest and exploitation. And the Western Science and Technology was essentially oriented: in these values and it evolved to serve these values primarily. Of course, incidently as a bye product it also benefited humanity in a number of ways. But primarily it helped improve vastly the instruments of war, violence and domination. As a culmination of this process, weapons of mass destruction will efficient delivery vehicles were developed. Everyday a new progress is made in this.

The age long quest for freedom. ever-widening inter -personal relationship and community building, equality, justice and human excellence has received new impetus coinciding with this development in Western Europe. This found expression in nationalism, growth of local languages, freedom and liberation struggles in various parts of the world, reawakening of religious and spiritual awareness, education, socialism, democracy and trans-nationlism on the one hand humanity is moving towards greater freedom and excellence and on the other hand it is moving towards a total holocaust and innumerable sufferings and tragedies to vast sections of human population. A large scale nuclear warfare or a major environmental holocaust or a macro level endless wave of madness and hatred or an eternal dangers in the form major health hazard or magnetic collapse or disruption of the solar system, etc., may put an end to the very human existence.

A culture of war and violence coupled with unrestrained desire for domination, consumerism and possession has been nourished by the weakening of the moral force on the one hand and by the enormous power of destruction exploitation and domination provided by the western science and technology. Man has become the greatest enemy of himself. The recurring genocides and bloody wars are the clear indicators of this trend.

A few great visionaries realised this great danger towards closing years of the nineteenth

century. They envisioned a new way out. Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi preached and practised non-violence and ethical living. Leo Tolstoy is a fine expression of the meeting of the West and East. He is deeply rooted in the Christian, Jewish and Greeco-Roman tradition of nonviolence and ethical living. And at the same time he was fascinated by the eastern spirituality, and especially. Buddhism he synthesised the western knowledge and eastern wisdom and experience to face the new challenges of his times and presented before humanity a codified book of wisdom which in essence is an ethical code. Tolstoy named this volume as the way of life and he corrected the page proofs of his revised Russian revision in his last days in 1910. That was his last work before he left in a railway journey to an unknown destination and on his way he died in a railway station. This book appeared in 1911 after his death in the revised final form. It then came to be known as *The Wisdom of Humankind.* Unfortunately this book is not widely known. The Russian edition was not available for a long time Prof.Guy de Mallac of the University of California at Irvine campus has brought out a condensed version of this work in English and this Tamil version has appeared recently.

Guy de Mallac writes thus, "the wisdom of humankind was Tolstoy's last major work. During his last twenty odd years, he assidously absorbed and collated the essential philosophical and spiritual experience of human kind in order to produce his powerful creative synthesis."

This work is in 31 chapters which are placed under six major headings. The essence of Tolstoy's message may be summarised as renunication of violence and wealth, Love and human excellence, respect for all living beings, holistic living, simple life style, non-exploitation etc.

Let me quote a few key passages

1. Faith or right understanding :

In order for us to live our life well, we must know what we should and should not do. To know this we must understand what we are and the nature of the world in which we live. This has been taught by the wisest and best people of all nations at all time. These teachings agree with each other and they agree with what every person is told by reason and conscience.

2. The spirit within

In addition to what we see, hear, feel and learn from people there is a reality that we do not see, hear, or feel and about which no one has ever told us anything, but which we know better than anything else in the world. It is that which we say "I".

3. There is one spirit in all

The invisible principle which gives us life we recognize as well in all living beings and we recognize it especially in being similar to us - human.

4. God

The universal and invisible principle which gives life to all that is alive, we call God, or the supreme Being, or Higher Power.

5. Love

Our souls separated by the body from God and each other, strive to unite with that from which we are separated. We unite with and through constantly growing consciousness of God within and with other souls through ever increasing union in love. In love lies the meaning and the good of human life.

Tolstoy lists following faults - overindulgence, sexual unrestraint, freeloading, greed, anger, temptations - pride, inequality, force or violence, punishment, vanity and superstitions - the superstitious of government, false religious practice, false science - to be avoided. He recommends the following approaches and practices - effort living in the present, non-acting, speech, thought, self-denial, humility and truthfulness.

Tolstoy explains that our life is a blessing. He says, "We often disregard the blessings of this life, expecting something batter somewhere else. But no such higher blessing can exist anywhere, for the blessing of that we have been given is the greatest possible blessing. To make every possible moment of life the best possible, no matter whether it is favourable or unfavourable, is the art of living. Tolstoy's ethical doctrine centres around the following insight, "Our life and its happiness consist in the ever closer union of our spirit with God and others from whom it has been separated through the body. This union is reached by the spirit as it reveals itself through love, and frees itself more and more from the body. As we realise this life becomes constant blessed has in spite of all misfortunes, sufferings and ailments."

Leo Tolstoy was one of the greatest artists who envisioned the future of humanity. The ethical living should become the centre of human existence as human beings tend to acquire power unimagined hitherto. Tolstoy realised this and he tried to change the direction of human history form violence to nonviolence. Tolstoy not only envisioned and preached but also he practised it in his own life.

Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest passible peak of eastern civilization, came in contact with the West. While Tolstoy journeyed from the West to the East, Gandhi travelled from the East to the West. They met almost at the same point. Though they did not meet, they had a few letter correspondence. It was near the midnight of Tolstoy and Gandhi was a rising star, Gandhi began where Tolstoy almost left.

Gandhi brought together, vedic Hinduism, Shramana traditions and popular religions and ideologies. Then he interacted with the other religions and ideologies. As a young law student in London, Gandhi could see the dawn of a new world centring around materialism, power politics and domination supported by the increasing power of the instruments of war and violence. Human survival reeded ethically elevated human beings with truth, love and purity of means, In South Africa, where civilizations and values clash, he could see clearly violence will only bread violence and the only way out would to use nonviolence. He immediately started using his vision at a man level to transform socio-political realities. Mahatma Gandhi continued this for nearly five decades at various levels and left a careful record of his actions and words.

Gandhi published in his *Indian Opinion* from 5-1-1907 to 23-2-1907 the Gujarati translation by William Mac Intyne Salter's *Ethical Religion*. Saltar was the founder of the society of ethical culture in Chicago. This book was originally published in America in March 1889 and later in England in 1905. This book was not well known but it represents a deeper vision and similar to the one which Gandhi was nourishing in his heart. Gandhi summarised eight chapters of this. (This book consists of fifteen chapters).

The essence of this book is as follows : "The different sciences show us the world as it is. Ethics tells us what it ought to be... An ethical idea is like an architect's plan. The plan shows how the building should be constructed; but it becomes useless if the building is not raised accordingly. Similarly an ethical idea is useless so long as it is followed by suitable action ... we should have perpetual longing to become better and do more good. True morality consists in our effort to realise that longing ... It is not enough that an act done by us is in itself good; it should have been done with the intention to do good... Just as moral action be free from fear or compulsion so should there be no self-interest behind it... Nations are sustained neither by wealth nor by armies but by righteousness alone ... altrusiom ... So long as man remain selfish and does not care for the happiness of other, he is no better than an animal and perhaps worse ... The highest morality must be comprehensive; it must embrace all men ... Every person ought to control his own impulses, and keep his soul as well as body clean..... We aught constantly to examine whether our way of life tends to improve human life or to worsen it ... He alone is religious ... who is sincere in himself..."

Mahatma Gandhi's ethical doctrine was greatly influenced by Tolstoy. Gandhi has remained a process all along. He was continually doing experiments. His thought and action were perfected from moment to moment. He was essentially as activist. He spoke elaborately and we need to do immense work to conceptualise him.

Let me summarise the essence of Gandhian ethics : Ethics is the essence of religion. It is the common denominator of religion. Ethics lays stress on ethical behaviour - not only in one dimension, may be personal but at all dimensions and at all levels without any exception. Thus for Gandhi is the morality the essence of politics, economics, technology, society etc. For him without ethics (morality), politics or economics or any other dimension degenerate and he rejected them. Truth, ahimsa. Sarvodaya with Antyodaya, purity of means, aparigraha constructive work, etc., become his central pivot and base. Any thought or action has to represent at these values in their best. Mahatma Gandhi pointed out much of our personal and social activities are immoral or non-moral.

After Gandhi, it is quite unfortunate that none of his followers laid stress to this significant and central issue - ethics. However at the end of the second world war, through out the world there is a new thinking among all sections of the population. They began to see the need for ethics in an increasingly violent world. Human survival is linked with this. The result is the Universal Declaration Human Right to Toward a Global Ethic.

In india it was Acharya Sri Tulsi who took up this significant issue of ethics. In a way Tolstoy

Gandhi - Acharya Sri Tulsi is a continuum. Tulsi came out with a document Anuvrat in 1949 it was a code of conduct to build up a healthy society.

What are the special features of Anuvrat? 1) it is universal in nature 2) it is simple and direct 3) it address various classes of people in a specific way. 4) it came from one of the greatest saints of our times. 5) He himself in the model 6) Tulsi himself took this message to the people through his walking pilgrimage 7) It is a voluntary effort.

Why Anuvrat did not become a major movement? This may be explained in two ways. The spiritual power generated by Acharya Tulsi sowed the seeds of Anuvrat in many people but often in an implicit way. Second by the Terapanthis did not take up this with total commitment . They lacked institutional and human resources.

Anuvrat document is only a great beginning. Acharya Tulsi worked together with his disciple Mahapragyaji and evolved a series of concepts and practical programmes over a period of four decades and more. Presksha Dhyana and Jeevan Vigyan are the most important among them Presksha Dhyana is a package of practical training programmes aimed at affecting phsysiological (Bio-chemical) and psychic changes. Jeevan Vigyan is an innovative education programme aimed at reaching children. Further the ideas enumerated in Anuvrat were further developed taking into consideration the changing Indian and global needs. A good example would be nonviolence and its many facets by Acharya Mahapgya and his writings on Eco-philosophy.

Let me dwell on the remarkable relationship between Shri Tulsi and Makaprayagi. It is as if Socrates and Plato reincarnated!

Today Anuvrat should be seen as a collective package of Anuvrat, Preksha Dhyan. Jeevan Vigyan and all other later teachings of Acharya Tulsi and Mahaprayyaji. Tremendous scholarship, spiritual power and collective effort are needed to prepare a comprehensive statement at bringing all there things together.

Today increasing we realize the need for ethics. There is a decline in almost all fields in terms of ethical behaviour. Humanity, with its tremendous and ever increasing power of destruction, badly is in need of an ethical basis. The global quest for ethics has led to the formation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations. In the last fifty years several declarations have been issued, one improving upon the other. One trend in all these is, they are voluntary efforts, some by the governments, some by the various NGOs and people's movements and some by the collaboration of both. There is common thread running all these - and that is love and compassion, justice and non-oppression/non-exploration non-discrimination, nonkilling, altruism and sacrifice self-restraint, responsibilities, rights and duties and ethical behaviour at all levels.

The earth charter in a way is a culmination of such efforts and trends. It combines governmental and non-governmental initiatives. But it mainly focuses on environmental issues. Hans Kung, a German based catholic theologian of global fame has launched a new initiative. As part of the 1993

World Parliment of Religions, he managed to get approval through voluntary interaction a document called "Toward a Global Ethic". It took him several years to put forth this idea and get itself discussed at several level and finally presented to a group of religious scholars, leaders and activists and get their approval in Chicago on 28th Aug 1993. Now this document is before humanity for further consideration and implementation.

This has been the first major attempt by people of different religious to evolve a common document on Global Ethics. This is a historical achievement of great significance, It is a new beginning. This document has been discussed at several levels. Hans kung is devoting all his efforts.

A careful study of the major declarations and documents from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to towards a Global Ethics reveal certain interesting common feature and resemble with Anuvrat, Preksha Dhyana, Jeevan Vigyan and other visions of Acharya Tulsi and Mahaprakyaji. I can not do a full-fledged comparative study here. That would be much greater task which I very wish to undertake. But here I would wish to make some preliminary commends. Alongwith Anuvrat, the legacy of Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi will be taken together as are continuum for this preliminary comparison.

The common features may be listed this

Ahimsa / nonkilling / love & compassion / peaceful methods / inter-relationship and care for others

Satya / Justice

Welfare of all

Care of the weaker, last person, marginalised victims, discriminated, etc.,

purity of means

Self-restraint

Liberation from the ego centred nature

Eco-friendly

Pluralism and respecting differences

Equality

transcending boundaries

Human Rights, Dignity and Responsibilities

Basic needs to be met

Just Economic Order

Consistancy in motivations, thought, word and action holistic approach if one reflects on these basic guiding principles, one will find them best expressed in Jain tradition. This is a remarkable fact.

Jainism has been restricted to a very limited group and they are mostly isolated from the main line. However they have played a rich role in adding ahimsa to the Indian and Tamil culture and civilization. If one examines the heroic poems of the Sangam Tamils, there are in remarkable parallel with some of the cruelest terrorist violence of our times. The Shramana traditions, in the form of ethical works like Thirukkural, transformed the violent and warring Tamil culture into that of a more tolerant, friendly and peaceful culture.

Now exactly this has to happen not only to South Asia but also to the entire world, Arnold Toynpee said that the contact of Buddhism and Christianity is one of the greatest happenings of the 20th century. May opening up of the true Jain tradition to the world at large may lead to far more creative and positive changes.

Acharya Sri Tulsi has made history by taking up the ethical light of Mahatma Gandhi where he left it on 30th January 1948. Tulsi and Mahapragyaji heve presented before humanity a clear vision, programme and method. They have done their best to implement them with whatever resources available to them.

Our responsibility is to awaken ourselves to the urgent need of our times and to act decisively there of Acharya's wonderful scheme of things is before us. We need to implement them and to communicate them to as many as possible. We need tremendous human, financial, institutional intellectual research, communication imputs for this. I shall do well more as this in the second lecture.

EXPERIENCES

S. Jayapragasam

A theology of self-sacrifice and Karma (Action) Yoga

On the shores of river Kaveri in Tamilnadu, South India, near Kulitalai, is located a beautiful Christian - Hindu Ashram by name Shanti Vanam which means "Peace Garden / forest". A Benedictan monk of British origin, Fr. Bede Griffiths, in whom west and east happily meets, adorned that Ashram (monastry). Almost a decade ego, I was there on a Friday evening participating in the prayer. As in a Hindu temple, sacred fire was lit during the prayer before the icon. With incense sticks, soul striking music, songs and words it was a moving experience. Fr. Bede Griffiths offered the red tilak kunkum to everyone. People piously put it in their forehead. In a flash I could see a connection between Jesus and red kunkum. It reminded me of the scared blood.

In all ancient societies, people wondered at the fact that women bleed periodically but they do not die. (If that happens with the man he would surely die.) When the bleeding starts for the first time in a girl, they started to realize, she is maturing, she is flowering into a women capable of giving birth to a child. When a child is born, she was bleeding profusely. This mensural blood was viewed as

sacred blood and it is related to human life. Woman also has the capacity to convert her body into food (milk) for the infant. For 280 days the fetus grew in her womb which is the first care of every human being. Man is jealous of woman because she has a womb, breasts and the sacred mensural blood.

With the ushering in of patriarchy, men distorted facts. The sacred mensural blood became a polluting substance. Men shed blood in the battles and it became the symbol of heroism and spiritual attainment.

Jesus revolutionsed this. He shed his own blood to wash the sins of humanity. He was the purest person and giving his blood in sacrifice. (The suicide bomber helps others and escape punishment he/she commits suicide. He/She is doctrinated with the feelings of hatred and vengence). The blood of Jesus is a redeeming and sacred blood. I felt I should not only worship and revere Jesus's model, but i should follow it in case of need as an ultimate act. I felt this as a calling. This is growing inside me.

One day, I realized there is a similar model in Hinduism too. But it is often in the pheripery (marginal). The divine (Super human) beings (devas) were in a major act of preparing a special necter which would endow them with immortality. However instead of that necter of immortal life, they got only a deadly poison which would bring in a total holocaust (may be similar to) our current realities. The divine beings were terrified and they did not know how to handle this situation. They called Shiva and Shiva came. He drank the poison at once so that the divine beings may be saved. Shiva's wife Parvathi twisted the head of Shiva in an act to save him. The poison remained in his neck forever there after and Shiva is also known as the "blue (poison) necked Shiva". In another Hindu tradition instead of Shiva Vishnu comes on the call of the divine beings. He sucked the deadly poison and it still remains on the upper surface of his body and that is why he is "bluish Vishnu"

The implication of these is the way to human survival and excellence largely depend on the acts of supreme self-sacrifice of humans on the model of Jesus and Shiva-Vishnu. Every spiritual tradition has a similar model. However such models are only in the pherypery (marginal) or such models are only worshipped or they are misused by institutional religious and other rested interest groups for selfish and demonic reasons.

There is another episode in the Hindu tradition which describes the enactment of "self-sacrifice"). Kannappan was a tribal chief, illiterate but very strong in his physical valour. He was a great devotee of Shiva. He used to share with Shiva the best flesh he hunted for the day. He used to taste the meat and leave a portion to Shiva (very similar to mothers feeding the child after tasting that food a little fit). One day Shiva's right eye was broken and it was bleeding. Kannappan immediately plucked his right eye and placed it in that of Shiva and stopped the bleeding. The first eye transplantation operation of the world! Immediately, the left eye of Shiva was broken and it started bleeding Kannappan, without absolutely any hesitation, at once plucked his left eye as well to place it on the left eye of Shiva. Then came the divine intervention.

Kannappan has deep devotion (bhakti) and was willing to act to perform karma yoga (action)

Mahatma Gandhi said, we need wisdom (Gnana yoga) and devotion (bhakti yoga). However what is primarily needed for our times is karma yoga, right action.

Inspirations

I). The Buddha was born as a white dove in one of his previous births. The white dove lived in a beautiful forest as a happy family together with other animals, birds, warms and insects. One day there was a sudden forest fire. These animals and birds ran away terrified. However the white dove found out some water at a distance and it managed to gather a few drops of that in a leaf and carried it all the way in its mouth and poured it on the wild fire. She repeated it continuously. These few drops of water can never quench the wild fire. However that is the only thing a dove can do in that circumstance and it did that.

I gave this story without mentioning the name of Buddha to a small group of primary school children and motivated them to complete this story as a group. The result was exciting.

"The animals and birds realised soon that they mined the white dove while they escaped. They started searching for the white dove. To their great amazement and anger they found that the white dove was killing herself by her mad act of quenching a wild fire with a few drops of water. However one wood cutter bird and a mouse appreciated the effort of the white dove. They joined the white dove in its effort to quench the fire. The woodcutter bird and the mouse jointly tried to clear a tree and create a zone of empty space so that the wild fire may he stopped. Then an elephant joined this venture. It cleared a tree and also brought more water. One after another all the animals and birds joined effort. It became a cooperative effort to quench a wild fire. God saw this beautiful action. God became deeply joyful and tears rolled from God's eyes. The tears turned into a heavy rain which helped to quench the wild fire.

II). We conducted a drawing competition to school children on August 6, 2001 at Madurai as part of our Hiroshima - Nagasaki peace programme. 188 students participated in it. The theme was "India-Pakistan friendship". The first prize winning piece was drawn by a 12 year old Muslim girl who study in a school run by a Hindu management, it has two sets of drawings 1) a larger demon (India) fighting with a shorter demon (Pakistan). It reads : "Then we were demons and animals and fought with one another" 2) the larger demon (India) develops a human face and holds a Pakistani flag and the shorter demon (Pakistan) develops a human face and holds an Indian flag. It reads : "Now they have become human and love are another".

Another prize winning drawing is by a 11 year old Hindu girl who is studying in a Christian management school. It has also two drawings. 1) Indian and Pakistan speak of peace but they intensely develop new weapons and increase the weapon stockpile. "A peace dove carries guns in its mouth but cries for peace!". This should change. 2) A peace dove with an alive branch of four leaves - i) one leaf looks like Indian flag ii) another leaf looks like a Pakistani flag iii) another leaf looks like an U.N.flag, iv) The fourth leaf is a peace flag.

We do something

I head a small department of Gandhian Studies and Ramalinga Philosopy at Madurai Kamaraj University. This department has already given birth to a new department of inter-religious relations. This is in a way a culmination of our inter-religious work. The Department of Gandhian Studies offers full-time, part-time distance (correspondence) education and Open University course in i) Gandhian Thought with a strong base on non-violence and peace ii) philosophy and religion with an emphasis on inter-religious dialogue, peace, ethics and liberative aspects and iii) peace making. This department has research and extension components. We collaborate with a number of voluntary groups and agencies. Our own students have launched voluntary agencies and action programmes. Our purpose is to build up a cadre of trained people in nonviolence, peace making, social action and inter-religious dialogue. We also run short training programmes. I try to continuously equip myself for this work.

A Prayer

Today I have some truth, some light and some life

I, with deep love, thank all those who contributed to this

I remember those who do not even reached this stage.

Let me make all out efforts to move from this truth to greater truth, from this light to greater light and from this life to greater life.

Let me make all out efforts for this to happen to all my fellow beings.

I seek the Grace and Blessings for this Om! Shanti, Peace, Salom, Mir, Amaithi.

LESSON - 9 & 10

DISASTER INTERVENTION AND MANAGEMENT - BASIC DISASTER MANAGEMENT SKILLS - RELIEF AND REHABILITATION WORK

Disasters have become part of human life. Much of the disasters may be prevented. Considerable amount of disasters may be handled efficiently; still some disasters may be beyond our control.

Disasters may be small ones or large ones. Disasters may be due to accidents, natural calamities, human design, human negligence and indifference, lack of preventive measures. An accident in a kitchen involving only one person may be a micro (small) event. Radiation of nuclear power plant may be a macro (larger/bigger) event affecting many people in a vast are a and for a larger time. A child may fall into a ditch in a street corner and may die. This is due to lack of preventive measure and human negligence and indifference. In a storm or earth quake prone area, if houses are constructed without good foundation, it will be a great risk.

Disaster prevention and Managements may be seen under the following headings:

1. Disaster Studies and Research
2. Disaster Prevention Measures
3. Disaster Forecasting
4. Disaster intervention and helping the victims
5. Post-disaster care - Relief and Rehabilitation
6. Disaster handling skills : Training and Equipment.

1. Disaster Studies and Research

A careful study of disasters and research on them will throw valuable light on disaster intervention, management and prevention. Let us attempt an example here. Kitchen accidents are common. A careful study of them would show the following items.

1) lack of proper ventilation
2) safety of stove / gas...
3) lack of proper precaution on the part of those who are cooking (e.g. dressing pattern, lack of prevention measures, and carefulness, negligence, etc.
4) defects in electrical wiring

5) no pre-plans or training to handle an emergency situation in the kitchen.

Courses on disaster is rarely available. There is not enough literature on many objects of this subject. In India, we often blame fate but fail to make measures to understand, handle and prevent disasters.

Another example may be given. By copying the western model, we make out bathrooms on their pattern. In the West, there will not be any water on the surface (that is how they make things) and they use carpets. But in India both these are absent. As a result many fall down in the bathroom or receive electric shocks and die or suffer.

Now electrical accidents are on the increase. This is mainly because our electrical wire system is not upto the standard often. There is no attempt to review it periodically and do needed modification or rewiring.

2. Disaster Prevention Measures

One many be able to understand various disasters in a better and deeper way due to Disaster Studies and Research. Then adequate prevention measures may be taken.

People talk of safety standards in atomic power stations. This implies that there is a radiation danger. This has already happened in some places. Whether the safety standards are of the expected quality?

2YK error prevention measure in United States atomic establishments alone is said to be of the order of 600 billion US dollars. There is no way to verify this. Computer scientists would have avoided this, if they would have been a little wiser while setting the year in the their set up. A costly error!

As society becomes more complex with the advancement of science and technology, disaster prevention will become a major affair like “maintenance”. The hole in the ozone shield is another example.

Vaccination itself may be seen as a “disaster prevention” mechanism.

3. Disaster Forecasting

With improved science and technology, increased data and its efficient handling, forecasting of disasters is more and more possible.

Storms and intense rain may be forecast with increasing accuracy so that some alternative measures may be made, such as shifting people, stopping tourists, etc.

Certain areas are found vulnerable to earth quake or volcanic erruption. In such places house construction may be decided taking into consideration these factors.

4. Disaster intervention and helping the victims

A disaster is taking place. Intervention and rescue mission has to be immediately brought into action. For this we need a cadre of well trained disaster managers and fighters. A fire accident is different from drought, a radiation disaster or nuclear submarine accident. Different kinds of equipments and skills may be needed. Here timing may be a key factor. There may be an earth quake in a place. Unless help reaches within hours (maximum 48 hours) lives cannot be saved.

In and around us many micro disasters take place. Due to lack of immediate and proper action, lives may be lost.

We need to build up general awareness in disaster intervention work to the public. There may be three level training programme.

1) Regular full-time disaster intervention scheme like the five fighters.

2) People with semi or quasi training

3) People with awareness and alertness.

5. Post disaster care - relief and Rehabilitation

This is an important phase after the-disaster. Often enough attention is not paid and as a result more damage may happen during this phase. Conserted and patient effects are needed. This also may be an expensive phase. The importance of this phase need to be realized. We are saving people not to be killed after a few days due to lack of enough post care. It would be like "The operation is successful but the patient dies after a few days".

6. Disaster handling skills : Training and equipment

Some disasters are entirely new and we cannot predict them before. AIDS was a new disaster. Volcanic erruption and droughts may be old ones. We may be able to list out possible disasters and also can predict unknown disasters to some extend. We can identify the skills, equipment and lining needed for that. Today we need to expect disasters at massive level as well and 'so enough awareness and general operations are necessary.

Peace Makers equipped with at least semi disaster intervention and management skills will be of great use. They an be really effective.

LESSONS 11 & 12

RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS - CLASH OF CIVILIZATION

KEY POINTS

IDENTITY AND CONFLICT

G. M. Tamas, The New Nationalism

The East European revolution of 1989 was history's first revolutionary movement that did not offer a Utopian alternative to replace the old order. Rather, 1989's revolution was really a mass rejection of tyranny, which was perceived as a universal condition of politics. As such, it was also a rejection of the liberal Western idea of political community itself.

Soon after their victory in this "antipolitical" revolution, East Europeans were compelled to find a social organizing principle for their societies. Ethnicity supplied such a need in short order.

Classic nineteenth century nationalism did not propose absolute dividing lines between nations and peoples: The superiority of one's own group was justified on the basis of universal criteria which could find acceptance among minorities. Similar claims of superiority in the new nationalism, by contrast, are absolute and based entirely on whether one is perceived as a member of the group or as alien to it. Those who are perceived as different are encouraged to get out.

The revolutionaries of 1989 fought against a common enemy: an overbearing, centralized state. In rejecting conformity, loyalty, and obedience to law as elements of yet another dictatorship, they have since discovered that the real enemy is anarchy.

In Eastern Europe, there is no consensus on the common good. People want the "good", but they don't want the "common". Countries are seen as tribes with flags, and states as gangs with charters. Communities that are defined either culturally or racially are unfortunately the only legitimate ones in the East European mind.

The fragmentation of countries and national identities into a myriad of smaller ethnic groups is not confined to Eastern Europe. Indeed, the ethnic conflict plaguing Southern California shows how difficult it is for ethnic groups of all sorts to identify with values outside those of their own group. Instead of providing an alternative social and political order free from tyranny, the reliance on ethnicity has merely broken up tyranny into smaller tyrannies.

THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS?

Samuel P. Huntington

When we examine relations between states these days, we are really looking at two worlds: one of growing economic development and in integration, and one of increasing ethnic conflict, instability, and global chaos. These two worlds are not separate and exclusive; they co-exist and overlap. In

fact, the forces of global economic development and integration are also generating much of the chaos that exists in the world today.

Much of this chaos is also attributable to a "global identity crisis" brought on by the end of the Cold War and the loss of national purpose. In such a milieu, people have turned away from irrelevant ideological distinctions and are relying on more traditional sources of identity - cultural groups such as tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, and nations.

The global manifestation of this fundamental change in local and regional identities is the division of the world into civilizations. Consequently, the world's main divide has shifted eastward-from the Iron Curtain to a historical line that separates the civilizations encompassed by Western Christendom from those of Eastern Orthodoxy and Islam.

Conflict does indeed occur between national states and peoples within the same civilization. Yet such conflict, so gruesomely exemplified by tribal warfare in Somalia and Rwanda, has fewer chances of escalating into much wider and more profound conflagrations than do clashes between civilizations (such as in the Caucasus and Yugoslavia).

Confucian and Islamic societies are attempting to expand their own economic and military power to resist and balance the West. Witness the challenges posed to the West by the economically powerful nations of East Asia. "The central axis of world politics", Huntington maintained, "is and will be the interaction of Western power and culture with the power and culture of non-Western societies. "

"THE COMING ANARCHY" AND THE NATION-STATE UNDER SIEGE

Robert Kaplan

"The Coming Anarchy"

Traditional political boundaries between countries are becoming increasingly irrelevant, while ties between similar groups in different countries grow stronger. The small middle class in Pakistan has more in common with middle-class Americans than with other Pakistanies. Of the more than 170 nation-states in the United Nations, failures in just a few of them are enough to create a critical mass that could quickly engulf us in global chaos. Conflict in three small countries - Rwanda, Somalia, and Haiti-resulted in major international instability and the expenditure of huge amounts of money. Imagine what might happen if three were to become six. Moreover, many large regional states that are internally weak and unstable could easily throw world politics into chaos if just one of them were to collapse.

Large states will not necessarily be as important in the future. We shouldn't assume, for example, that China and India will retain their present geographical and political contours as secessionist movements in these and other large states acquire more significance in international politics.

Too much money is spent on quick fixes-such as short-term miliary interventions - for sporadic,

violent outbreaks of complex international conflicts. As a result, long-term solutions to conflict, such as investment in development projects, continue to be neglected.

Much of the world's violence is caused not by poverty and economic stagnation but by economic success. Conflict seems to occur more in states that are experiencing unprecedented economic growth than economic decline. Such growth has been tremendous but uneven. While life gets better for some, it gets worse for many more.

Jessica Tuchman Mathews Demographic and Environmental Forces

Between 1950 and 1990, our planet has undergone more environmental change than in the entire period before 1950. For the first time in our history, we are now able to alter the planet's physiology.

The increase in massive population shifts within and across regions will lead to more cases where states are able to use migration as a weapon in foreign policy. With greater and greater frequency, stales will be asking the question: "Can walls be built high enough to keep [immigrants] out, and what are the implications for our values in this country?"

Overpopulation and its consequences could be a major source of global instability and conflict in the very near future. Lack of jobs and looming natural resource crises will have a sharp impact on global politics. Exponential population growth that continues to outstrip the planet's resource base will lead to larger and more frequent waves of refugees and more intense and destructive conflicts over water and arable land.

Fifteen percent of the population is responsible for 70 percent of global consumption. As developing countries grow, the need to greatly expand our food supply will become crucial.

As these demographic trends accelerate, we will be compelled to divert scarce funds to disaster relief. Meanwhile, prospects for preventive strategies to alleviate resource and population crises remain bleak. U.S. spending on development has already declined by one-fourth, and the UN spends five times more on refugees and peacekeeping operations than on economic development.

PREFACE

KENNETH M. JENSEN,

DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL PROGRAMS AND CONFERENCE COORDINATOR

On November 30 and December 1,1994, the United States Institute of Peace convened a major conference to address the vexing problem of how to manage post-Cold War international conflict. In an effort to stimulate discussion, the event was titled "Managing Chaos: Coping with International Conflict into the Twenty-First Century. "

The choice of the term "chaos" could hardly be regarded as a choice beyond controversy. The choice was made in part to acknowledge the debate surrounding the term that surfaced during 1994

and continues apace. Spurred primarily by events in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Rwanda (and the international community's less-than-perfect responses to them), this debate centers on the question of whether the forces of order in the world are not in fact being overwhelmed by increasing and increasingly novel forces of disorder.

In a Washington Post opinion piece on July 31, 1994, U.S. Agency for International Development Administrator J.Brian Atwood stated what many who feel overwhelmed see as the problem:

> Increasingly, we are confronted by countries without leadership, without order, without governance itself. The pyre of failed states is being fired by common fuels: long-simmering ethnic, religious, and territorial disputes; proliferating military stockpiles built dangerously high during the Cold War; endemic poverty; rapid population growth; food insecurity; environmental degradation; and unstable and undemocratic governments.

Atwood argued that "we must forge the tools and policies needed to meet a threat that can be best summarized by the word 'chaos'."

To cite Atwood's use of the term is not to credit him with being the first to apply it. However, his willingness to use it was an indication that, by the summer of 1994 at least, the term and what it implied were under wide consideration. Indeed, shortly after Atwood's article appeared, Jeremy Rosner of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was moved to complain that this way of thinking had got out of hand. The focus of his Washington Post piece of August 14 was the enthusiasm of Clinton administration officials-particularly Atwood and Under secretary of State for Global Affairs Tim Wirth - for the views of journalist Robert Kaplan, author of a long article in the February 1994 Atlantic Monthly titled "The Coming Anarchy", which, incidentally, was the product of a United States Institute of Peace grant. To Rosner's mind, the "chaos" view made the state of the world more dependent on nature and history than on human will and suggested "a foreign policy that glossed over great power relations, ignored the morality of foreign regimes, undervalued democracy, and assumed American decline". According to Rosner, "Those who are flirting with the chaos doctrine are flirting with disaster."

Despite the protestations of Rosner and others, the specter of chaos had, if anything, grown greater by the time of the Institute's "Managing Chaos" conference. The Washington Post's Stephen Rosenfeld noted in a column on November 25 that chaos was increasingly in the thoughts of serious minded people, although he properly noted that it was still debatable whether the idea of chaos - described in a manner similar to Brian Atwood's above-is of central significance for those who search for peace and orderliness in the post-Cold War era. Rosenfeld asked, in effect, whether the cataclysms in Somalia, Bosnia, Sudan, Rwanda, and Haiti and the overflow effects from them-represent a widening tendency that will be beyond our means to manage unless we dramatically change our way of doing business in the world, or whether they represent problems that we are more or less in the process of solving - albeit largely by hit-and-miss methods and not without mistakes so far.

In its "Managing Chaos" conference, the United States Institute of Peace meant to answer both

"yes" and "no" to the question of chaos - notwithstanding (and perhaps in response to) the fact that the Institute had facilitated Kaplan's "The Coming Anarchy". In the Institute's view, the fear of chaos is most certainly not unfounded. There is no question that we have problems like failed states, endless civil wars, politically induced famines, burgeoning refugee populations, and genocides, which, although they have occurred before, are now occurring with increased frequency. That increase in frequency by itself might well raise the specter of chaos. There is also no question that some problems - like the environmental nightmares in the former communist states of Eastern Europe and the dubious viability of many of the new states of the former Soviet Union are unprecedented and whose complexity defies managing with traditional methods and resources.

On the other hand, the evidence is not sufficient to conclude that we are doomed, that our future is simply determined, as Rosner would say, by nature - as in the case of environmental threats or by history - as in the case of ethnic and religious conflict. If we believe that our future is determined, we would also have to believe that significant natural calamities and historic enmities have not been successfully managed in many recent cases. The Institute's presumption is, then, that we are indeed threatened with chaos but are not without the ability to imagine the new resources and means to deal with it.

What the Institute hoped to do in its "Managing Chaos" conference, then, was not to bring the chaos debate to closure, but to offer something much more down to earth: to survey and understand both new and enduring sources of international conflict and to consider both established and new ways of dealing with them. In doing so, we involved speakers who represent a range of views that relate to the chaos issue and otherwise offer wisdom and insight into sources of conflict and how to think about them in innovative ways.

This report summarizes the remarks of a number of conference speakers who address new and abiding sources of conflict. The order of presentation here does not correspond to the conference's order, as we have ground the summaries togically to bring out the resonances between the presentations. Samuel P. Huntington and Robert Kaplan spoke together on a panel chaired by Paul Wolfowitz, dean of the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. G. M. Tamas and Jessica Tuchman Mathews spoke on a panel chaired by Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Special thanks are due to Institute program officers Patricia Carley and Scott Snyder for their conference reportage and contributions to this report. The views represented here are those of "Managing Chaos" conference presenters and do not necessarily represent those of the United States Institute of Peace.

IDENTITY AND CONFLICT

G. M. TAMAS

THE NEW NATIONALISM

This report begins with the views of two f thinkers for whom current and future conflict revolves around newly developing senses of identity among nations and peoples. In each case, their

conceptions of identity have roots in the past. Nonetheless, new content is being poured into old forms. More than this, their perspectives are intentionally provocative: If their analyses prove to be correct, the world will have much to reconsider in order to meet the challenge of twenty-first century conflict.

Hungarian philosopher and political figure G.M.Tamas speaks to the subject of "the new nationalism" as it manifests itself particularly - but not exclusively - in post-communist countries. He is followed by Professor Samuel P.Huntington, of Harvard's Center for International Studies, who speaks to the subject of "The Clash of Civilizations?", the topic of a Summer 1993 Foreign Affairs article that remains the . subject of intense debate internationally.

Political philosopher G.M.Tamas addressed the challenges accompanying new conceptions of nationalism in the post-communist states of Eastern Europe. Contrary to Samuel Huntington's projection of a world in which nation-states will be overshadowed by conflicts among civilizations, Tamas's analysis envisions the demise of civilizations, nation-states, and communities as concepts around which to build political life. According to Tamas, rigid definitions of community that identify members along ethnic lines have begun to replace the liberal ideal of communities of free and equal individuals on which Western politics has been based since the French Revolution.

The Velvet Revolution as Freedom from Political Community

The Velvet Revolution of 1989 that brought an end to communism in Eastern Europe was "the first revolution in history that didn't have a Utopia", according to Tamas. The destruction of communism's Utopian order, however, claimed another casually as well - the very essence of political community itself. Tamas recalled that the idea that citizens should work together for the common good, or for the sake of institutional loyalties, has been associated traditionally with personal interest. The new idea of freedom in East Europe, he said, is that of the individual as an actor to be free from political community, not the freedom of the individual to exercise rights and duties under law in common cause with others in a political community.

According to this view of freedom, which Tamas asserts is not confined to Eastern Europe, individuals are not rational agents; rather, they are beings whose essence resides in their emotions and private desires. One important desire among Eastern Europe's revolutionaries in 1989 was to be free from tyranny, which was perceived as part of the political condition itself. Accordingly, the Velvet Revolution was an uprising against not only political rule but against the liberal Western idea of political community as well. However, Tamas contended, as soon as Eastern Europe's revolutionaries were finally free from politics, they suddenly realized that some sort of social organizing principle had to be found for their local communities. Ethnicity, he contended, was the one organizing principle at hand that had not been compromised in the struggle for freedom. That it has come to play such a great role is, therefore, understandable.

Nationalism: The Old and the New

"Nationalism" as we are accustomed to thinking of it, is the nationalism of the nineteenth

century, Tamas observed. The term is associated in our imagination with strength and support for a strong state and with accompanying images of authority and discipline. In contrast, the new, post-communist nationalism in Eastern Europe is anarchistic, apolitical, and even antipolitical. It refuses to recognize any overarching idea of social morality beyond, say, common decency.

According to Tamas, the old-style, liberal nationalism of the nineteenth century had two main strategies: conquest and assimilation. If a majority wanted to assimilate minorities, he said, that majority would have to believe that there was something in common between the majority and minorities that would allow them to be assimilated. Proponents of this older form of nationalism did not believe in absolute dividing lines between nations and peoples; they justified the superiority of one's own group on the basis of universal criteria. Such criteria permitted them to claim that their superiority could be recognized and accepted by minorities who would benefit thereby. In contrast, said Tamas, the criteria for claims of superiority under the new nationalism are parochial and absolute, based entirely on whether one is perceived as a member of the group or as alien to it.

Accordingly, Tamas continued, the old and new nationalisms have dramatically different implications for the nation-state. The struggle among southern Slavs in the nineteenth century was for the unity of all peoples, for Yugoslavia citizenship. In contemporary Bosnia, however, there is no foundation for a "super ethnic" citizenship on which a nation-state can be constructed. Classic liberal nationalism advocated assimilation, but the new nationalism breaks up the state into small, ethnic based units. According to Tamas, the destruction of the stale arises not from a primordial compulsion to destroy, but from doubts about whether political community of any kind beyond the ethnic group is just another form of personal subjugation to omnipotent political power.

The New Enemy: The Reign of Small Tyrannies

Recalling his experience as one of the leaders of the Velvet Revolution, Tamas described the dawning of the realization that beyond providing the rationale for destroying the communist state, the major strains of East European revolutionary thought in 1989 had paid little attention to proposing institutions that could replace the state as the basis for political organization: "We all thought that the enemy was the overbearing, bureaucratic, centralized, tyrannical state. And within a few months, we found out that our enemy was anarchy, and that our conditioning under years of the communist regime to be suspicious of hands-on government - to be suspicious of any great emphasis on conformity, on loyalty, on obedience to the law, etc. - all these things were seen by my generation as pretexts for dictatorship", Tamas recalled. "And while we were quite successful in destroying all basis for legitimacy of an unelected, tyrannical government, in the process we destroyed the basis for politics as such."

As a result, Tamas argued, individuals feel that if particular laws are disadvantageous to individual interests, there is no obligation to follow them. The attitude that one should obey the law even if one doesn't happen to like it is seen as a "servile, conformist, Bolshevik mentality." In this environment, according to Tamas, "People want the 'good,' but they don't want the 'common'." Countries are seen as tribes with flags, and states as gangs with charters, he said.

The attitudes of "the new nationalism", Tamas noted, are not confined to post-communist societies in Eastern Europe: Southern California is a stark reminder that Eastern Europe is not the only example of countries based on legal, political, and moral principles fragmenting into ethnic-based communities. In Southern California, too, said Tamas, there is no higher-level appeal against the values held by these groups. Instead of providing a means of escaping what is perceived as tyranny, the assertion of ethnicity as a social organizing principle that supersedes our broader, traditional notion of political community is "simply breaking up tyranny into smaller tyrannies."

According to Tamas, critics have not yet been able to develop an adequate or dignified response to this new nationalism. In thoroughly rejecting the tapestry of cultural and religious traditions that determine whether people can coexist reasonably within a political structure, the new nationalism defies reasoned analysis. Yet, it can be said that, unlike the old nationalism that was based on strength, the new nationalism is the nationalism of weakness. Russian nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky, Tamas noted, doesn't even have discipline over his own political group. The Zhirinovskys and Karadzics (i.e., Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic) of the world "are only helping 'chaos' to be even more engulfing".

The waning interest among his fellow East Europeans for the rule of law and for the rights and duties that are required under a democratic system, Tamas said, has robbed him of his enjoyment as a revolutionary. Their view that democratic principles don't work (or are accepted as only a slight improvement over the worst) doesn't mean that his countrymen are headed back toward a new communist dictatorship: "People don't want communism and people don't want the guarantees against it. And this is why the new nationalism is so peculiar. . . This is why it is so dangerous. Its weakness, indeed, can be as dangerous as strength."

THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS?

SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON

Chaos and the Search for New Sources of Identity

The world Tamas describes is quite different from the one Samuel Huntington envisions. While Tamas predicts anarchy resulting from the steady erosion and fragmentation of the nation-state as both a source of self-identity and an organizing principle in international society, Huntington sees the same process transforming world politics along cultural and civilizational lines, where the new actors in the international arena are agglomerations of individual nation-states that share similar attributes of language, religion, and culture.

To the observer of contemporary international affairs, the world has become a rather schizophrenic place: There is a prosperous world of growing economic development and integration; but there is also a world of increasing nationalism, ethnic conflict, instability, and global chaos. For Huntington, the crucial point is that both of these worlds are real: The world of global economic integration coexists with a world of chaos, and these worlds are interrelated. In fact, and perhaps somewhat ironically, "the forces of economic development and integration are also generating much of the chaos that exists in the world."

Yet another source of conflict reflects a much more fundamental change in global society brought about by the end of the Cold War and the sudden disappearance of ideological reference points. At the core of their beliefs, people identify most strongly with cultural groups; that is to say, tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilizations. In short, the most important distinctions among peoples today are not ideological but cultural.

Global Politics : Fault Lines between Civilizations

For Huntington, nation-states will remain the principal actors in world affairs. However, the largest groupings will no longer be the blocs of the Cold War era but the "seven or eight major world civilizations". For forty-five years, Huntington continued, the most important dividing line in the world was the Iron Curtain. Now, that dividing line has moved hundreds of miles east - to the line separating the Christian West, on the one hand, and the Orthodox (Christian) and Muslim East on the other.

The rivalry of the superpowers has been replaced to some extent by the clash of civilizations, and these civilizations' "core states" will gradually replace Cold War-era superpowers as managers of the international order. Until then, military conflicts among less-developed countries over borders, natural resources, and transnational ethnic politics will be more prevalent.

People who were once separated by ideology but united by culture are now coming together, and Huntington offered as examples the two Germanys and the push for reunification between the two Koreas and the two Chinas. Societies that are united by ideology or historical circumstance but divided by civilization either come apart, as did the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Bosnia, and Ethiopia, or are subject to intense strain, as is the case with Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Sudan, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, and others.

Without a doubt, said Huntington, tribal wars and ethnic conflicts occur within their own civilizations. Conflict stemming from economic competition will become even more acute among Western democracies within the same civilization.

However, the violence between states and groups from different civilizations-as is the case in Bosnia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Kashmir carries with it the potential for greater escalation, as other states and groups that share the same civilization rally to support their ethnic and cultural kin. In the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, Russia has provided considerable diplomatic support to the Serbs, while Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Libya have provided funds to the Bosnians. "It is precisely situations like these, where the battle lines between societies and groups coincide with fault lines between civilizations, that are the most dangerous ones for the future", Huntington said.

Though the West will remain without a doubt the most powerful civilization for years to come, according to Huntington, its power is declining relative to other civilizations. As the West tries to assert its values and protect its interests, non-Western societies face a choice. Some may desire to emulate the West, and others may be ambivalent. Still others, primarily the Confucian and Islamic societies, are attempting to expand their own economic and military power to resist and balance the West. Witness the challenges posed to the West by the economically powerful nations of East Asia.

"The central axis of world politics", Huntington maintained, "is and will be the interaction of Western power and culture with the power and culture of non-Western societies".

THE COMING ANARCHY AND THE NATION-STATE UNDER SIEGE

ROBERT KAPLAN

"THE COMING ANARCHY"

The second set of summaries leaves the realm of the search for new identities to look at what Brian Atwood would refer to as other "common fuels" that fire "the pyre of failed states". Journalist Robert Kaplan spoke from the perspective of new experiences gathered abroad over the past year on the themes of his "Coming Anarchy" argument. Elaborating on this perspective, he challenges us both to acknowledge new forces of disorder and to alter our way of thinking about states and traditional interstate relationships. Similarly, Jessica Tuchman Mathews of the Council on Foreign Relations asks us to acknowledge that enduring problems in the world's demography and its environment are reaching a level of acuteness that demands considerable thinking about priorities aimed at stemming international disorder.

Harsh Realities

By way of providing an example of his contention that the current world political system is tending, toward chaos, Robert Kaplan described some current realities in Pakistan today. On one hand, there is the view of a multinational corporate executive who visits the country regularly. On each trip, the executive might see more computers, more fax machines, and more mobile phones in use. The executive might also see an excellently run state airline, more and more designer restaurants, and, most important, a growing middle class to enjoy them-a middle-class whose culture increasingly resembles that of the Western executive. The spread of such middle class amenities to a Third World country might cause the executive to wonder why the doomsayers keep predicting impending chaos in the world.

The problem is, Kaplan continued, that what the global executive sees in Pakistan is only part of the picture. Another part is that every year, 540,000 more people are added to the city of Karachi alone. In 1947, the population of Pakistan's largest city was 400,000; today, Karachi's population is over nine million. Of that nine million, less than one-quarter has garbage collection, and that number is decreasing. There is frequently no water or electricity for days at a time and unemployment is at 25 percent. Approximately one million of that nine million live in what can only be called shanty towns. In southern Pakistan, there are an equal number (i. e. , one million) of drug addicts. Without a doubt, the world of fax machines and VCRs exists in Pakistan, but increasingly they are run on private generators. Similarly, the water and electricity in the country's fancy hotels are supplied by private wells and generators because the municipal water and electricity systems are breaking down. These conditions, according to Kaplan, are not necessarily new in Pakistan, but they are new for Islamabad, the country's capital, and especially for the city's wealthy districts. In recent decades, people have been migrating into the city from the deforested hillsides, building their own makeshift shelters in the

shanty towns, and tapping into the city's water system; ultimately, such migration causes problems for everyone.

The increasing deterioration in public order is not confined to Pakistan's urban areas, Kaplan explained. Vast areas of the country are controlled by drug gangs, which also serve as a metaphor for the country's political gridlock. But unlike the political gridlock Americans are familiar with in Washington, Pakistan's is frequently divided along ethnic and regional lines; and it is, Kaplan suggested, "far nastier". Added to these developments are some demographic and geographic realities. Every two to three years, the equivalent of the population of Karachi is added to Pakistan. By the year 2010, the amount of arable land per rural inhabitant in Pakistan will decrease by one-half, and one-quarter of that will be unusable due to salinity and soil degradation. The country has witnessed such an exponential increase in the numbers of its youths that no future educational or employment system can be expected to absorb them.

The bottom line, according to Kaplan, is that regardless of who the political leaders are, governing Pakistan is becoming an increasingly desperate enterprise. To someone who might argue that Pakistan is a particularly desperate case, Kaplan pointed out that two-thirds of the states in sub-Saharan Africa rate lower on the 1994 United Nations scale of human development. Yet, the middle-class "bubble" in Pakistan continues to expand. It has very nearly formed its own private state, with an army of private security guards protecting its "borders". The financial wellspring of the country's middle class-the Karachi stock market-continues to expand.

As Kaplan explained, Pakistan is an example of two phenomena that are currently reshaping global society. "Vertical" state boundaries - the visible borders separating states that we see on maps-are, in fact, withering and becoming less relevant. In their place, "horizontal" boundaries are forming - ties among groups, or classes, that cut across nation-state borders. The small middle class in Pakistan, he posited, has more in common with most Americans than with other Pakistanis. "The traditional nation-state is weakening", Kaplan asserted, "and new forms of community are coming into being."

To provide a fuller explanation of this phenomenon, Kaplan described the concept of "economic regions" as suggested by geographer Bruce Bayer, referring to the development of economic regions that are more cohesive than the currently recognized nation-states they encompass. In traveling through the Hunza Valley in northern Pakistan, it is clear that if the Pakistani state were ever to wither away, the Hunza Valley may in fact do better on its own. Another example is the Senegal River valley, which may also do better on its own than split between Senegal and Mauritania, as it is currently. Yet another successful economic region is the Mekong River valley, which is an extension of greater Thailand economically, into which Laos is gradually being absorbed. The result is that the Mekong River valley region is developing more of an identity - and becoming more of a reality - than the "nation-state" of Laos.

The Role of "Swing States"

Kaplan turned to the other realities of instability in today's state system. Citing Paul Kennedy's

term "swing states", referring to significant regional powers that are in danger because of internal institutional disorder or deterioration. Kaplan suggested that many large regional states are in exactly this position, including Nigeria, Iran, Egypt, and Pakistan. Is it the case that these swing states are only going through a difficult and unwieldy transition period, or will one or two of them possibility fail outright?

There are, said Kaplan, 173 nation-states on the membership roster of the United Nations. To propel the world system into a state of genuine chaos, it may not require the failure of a majority - or even half-of these states. All that is needed, he argued, is a "critical mass" of nation-state failures, a small minority of crises that would be just enough to overload the agenda of the world's decision makers. One need only look at the way in which the failure of just three relatively small, marginal countries-Rwanda, Somalia, and Haiti-resulted in not only substantial political upheaval and instability but also the commitment of huge amounts of financial resources to these crises. Imagine, he said, what would be involved were that three to become six, or were the next failed state a regional power such as Nigeria or Pakistan. Kaplan stated that he is not certain that the policy-making elite would be able to cope, or that it has any ready solutions to such potential crises.

The Growing Irrelevance of Large States

Tile largest states in the international arena will not necessarily be the most important ones in the future, Kaplan continued, adding that he does not agree with those who claim that China and India will be major regional powers. These two countries are in fact decentralizing and regionalizing in a way that is making their central governments benign and obsolete in a great power sense. Similarly, Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang increasingly talk about separating from the People's Republic of China. It should therefore not be assumed that in the future China will retain the same borders it has today. There could be a "greater China", but there could be a "lesser China" also. In any case, a "greater China" would be a "benign China" because it will not be centrally controlled - it will be more of a cultural and economic force than a centrally controlled great power. The same is true for India, where much of what is happening throughout the country is occurring outside of the state network. In the country's southern state of Carola, for example. New Delhi is becoming increasingly irrelevant. In the case of these two large, regional powers and perhaps in others as well - it is their smaller entities that arc becoming more and more important.

The Increase in World "Stunts"

In the early 1990s, Kaplan continued, the United Nations staged an election process in Cambodia. It was declared a success, the media left, and the world forgot about it. Since then, however conditions in the country have deteriorated once again. It is now unclear Kaplan claimed whether the UN "success" in Cambodia was simply a very expensive "stunt", or whether it was a pivotal exercise in what will ultimately be a success story. What many are now saying is that perhaps the UN should have spent that money on building Cambodia's infrastructure, that it is the development of roads and deforestation projects more than the staging of elections that will drive out the Khmer Rouge. Today, the Khmer Rouge controls 20 percent of the country; and of the 80 percent that is controlled by the government, only half is fully secure or safe for travelers.

Kaplan's main point is that "we seem to be engaged in expensive 'stunts' around the world. " In Haiti and Somalia, the United States spent a great deal of money in the hope of going in quickly and getting out after only three or four months. If things collapse three or four years later, the politicians hope only that no one will notice. This is an increasingly dangerous mode of operation in view of the reality of an increasingly isolationist public. All that is needed, Kaplan maintained, is the noticeable failure of one of these "stunts" to drive the public into an even greater isolationist stance. Rather than "stunts" that seek to "solve" such complex conflicts in a few short months, Kaplan suggested that resources could better be spent on less "dramatic" but more long-term solutions, such as women's literacy and family planning programs and reforestation projects. Such projects are more valuable in the long run, and only then can there be hope of gradual, incremental improvements that will enable democracy to grow on its own. The "expensive stunts", Kaplan said, are of limited value.

Echoing Huntington, Kaplan noted the irony that most violence in the world today is caused not by poverty and economic stagnation but by global economic success and development. Mass violence (in India, for example) has visited itself more upon countries that have boasted of recent economic achievements than among failed states and regions. "We are in a gawky, awkward, pubescent stage in human development", he asserted. Because capitalism cannot be controlled, the more growth there is, the greater the disparities become. Global economic growth has been tremendous of late-but it has been uneven, and it is the unevenness that is causing the problems. While life gets better for some, it unfortunately gets worse for many more.

Ours remains a world of "yearning", said Kaplan, and "everyone wants to be a player". Yet the reality is described better by a statistic noted in the Atlantic Monthly that by the year 2000, some 40-70 percent of North African youth will have no possibility of finding employment. The current system is producing a new "sub-proletariat of young people" without jobs. It is true, Kaplan conceded, that he has focused mainly on places that are in a "downward spiral"; yet, this describes a large section of the world. It is important to keep in mind, he said, that 90 percent of the babies born today are being born not in places like Singapore, but in the kind of places he has been describing. The question remains: "Is democracy going to be up to the job? Is democracy going to create wealth in those places?"

Elections often do not provide the answer, since in some societies a dictator will engage in more "civil" behavior than a democratically elected leader. On the other hand, corporatist neo-authoritarianism, such as the variety found in Singapore, is not a universal model either. It may work in Singapore, but it cannot be a model for others.

Kaplan offered Thailand as proof of Francis Fukuyama's theory that democracy may not emerge everywhere, but that where it does emerge, people will be happier. Little by little in that country, the military mafiosos are constrained by an increasingly feisty and sophisticated press, suggesting that democracy is gradually gaining ground. Thailand is also a good example, Kaplan maintained, of how democracy, economic growth, and falling birth rates are interrelated. The problem in Washington, however, is that policy makers view this crucial interrelationship through its separate parts, such as demography or democracy Yet in, those parts of the world the interrelationship between scarcity,

corruption, and civil society is clear. Places where there is land scarcity and high population growth, he said, are not places where good government is likely to emerge.

In closing, Kaplan noted: "I'm a global optimist. I just think that the next forty years are going to be very difficult."

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL FORCES

JESSICA TUCHMAN MATHEWS

Jessica Tuchman Mathews described what in her view are the environmental, demographic, and population changes that will pose the greatest challenge to international order in the future. She asserted that, to a certain extent, these sources of conflict have grown up with us during the Cold War but have escaped our attention. Demographic and environmental challenges, she said, are not the only sources, or the key sources, or even new sources of conflict, but they are the most frequently ignored sources of modern instability.

Over-population

In the period between 1950 and 1990, Mathews noted, there was more change in our environment than in the entire period before 1950. For the first time in our history, we have been able to alter the planet's physiology. There have been historic changes and new stresses on our environment as a result of adding three billion more people to our human population in the space of only three decades. We have doubled the amount of nitrogen on the planet, created a hole the size of a continent in our ozone layer, and created what biologists call a "spasm" of species loss at the rate of one per hour. This means that 10 to 25 percent of our species will be gone within twenty-five years. During the post-war period, 11 percent of the planet's arable land an area equal to India and China combined has been degraded, some of it irretrievably. In addition, water demand has increased by eight or nine times in this century, and will triple from present levels by 2050 if the current growth trend continues. Owing to improvements in infant mortality rates and nutrition over recent decades, there are more hungry people in absolute numbers on the planet than ever, Mathews noted. Given the projected rate of population growth, we can expect another doubling of population by 2050.

The challenge of burgeoning population growth could be a major source of instability in the coming decades, according to Mathews. Echoing a concern of Robert Kaplan's, she argued that the need for new jobs to meet the needs of the working-age population in developing countries by 2025 will be larger than today's total number of workers worldwide. This population will create a gigantic possibly unsatisfiable-demand for jobs, and will create greater pressures for massive population shifts through internal and external migration among nations.

As population growtn continues, Mathews noted, we will face new inequities in resource use that will grow more stark as the developing world continues to expand faster than the industrialized world. We will need to triple both our energy use and agricultural production in the next fifty years at a time when all the "easy" measures for increasing our food supply have already been exhausted. For instance, rice yields in China in the 1970s grew at about 4 percent annually; but in the 1980s, annual

yield increases were only 1. 6 percent, a rate that is only barely sufficient to stay ahead of population growth. In addition, there is a severe crisis in global fisheries, all seventeen of which are at or beyond their sustainable yield.

In a few crucial regions, potential conflict surrounds the disparity between available water sources and consumption. By 2050, one-quarter of all river water will be used to meet human consumption needs. In the Middle East, where there is 3 percent annual population growth, water resources are already in severe deficit. To state the obvious, water and food are the basic elements for survival. As such, they are the most obvious sources of conflict in regions, like the Middle East, where there are both a shrinking per capita resource base and historical and ethnic rivalries. This type of conflict can quickly transform once peaceful communities into vengeful ethnic cauldrons.

Migration

Mathews projected that population growth in the next fifty years will result in an increase in internal migration and rapid urbanization, with concomitant internal political instabilities. The number of refugees has grown ten-fold in the past twenty-five years, she noted. If one includes internally displaced people who are refugees within their own countries, we currently have fifty million migrants and refugees, a number that will inevitably continue to rise. This unprecedented population growth, Mathews asserted, has forced people to use land in ways that it was not meant to be used. As a result, our vulnerability to natural disasters increases. The number of natural disasters, according to Red Cross figures, has grown from three to twenty per year during the century. From 1987 to 1992, $ 53 billion in losses have been recorded as a result of "natural" disasters that are now partially man-made because more people are moving to areas not suited for permanent habitation.

According to Mathews, an indirect consequence of population growth and the pressure of migration is the continuing use of excess people as a weapon (as in Haiti and Cuba). This poses a great challenge for Western democracy for facing its representative governments to compromise its most cherished values; for instance, by asking Cuba to prohibit its citizens from emigrating. "The increase in migration will lead to more cases in which it will be possible to use excess people as a weapon (in foreign policy)", states Mathews. "The pressure of migration will upset relations with continuing frequency. . . . Can walls be built high enough to keep (immigrants) out, and what are the implications for our values in this country?"

More Relief, Less Development

Mathews argues that all these trends are creating humanitarian crises that divert scarce resources from productive investment to unproductive but morally compelling uses. Financial resources spent on peacekeeping or humanitarian assistance - such as the $ 3 billion spent on Somalia-are funds that could have gone to areas ripe for economic growth. The portion of the UN budget devoted to humanitarian relief and peacekeeping increased from 25 to 45 percent between 1988 and 1992. The UN will spend five times more on peacekeeping than economic development this year, a trend that is reflected in the national budgets of its individual member-states.

According to Mathews, parallel stresses of dwindling arable land, global warming, and population growth are leading to coastal crowding and pressure on fisheries. The interaction of population growth, poverty, and environmental stress is a toxic combination, as we have seen recently in Rwanda and Haiti. In the telecommunications age, it will be impossible not to know how everyone else lives, and pressure on governments to open up will increase. Not all governments will succumb to such pressure, however, especially those on the verge of developing the capacity to build biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons to enhance their international prestige. Without the requisite security measures, these countries may become unwitting accomplices in supplying these weapons to outlaw states and international crime groups. Avoiding that outcome, said Mathews, will require unprecedented international cooperation.

EPILOGUE

As Professors Huntington and Tamas suggest in their presentations, the search for "identity" is a key feature of the post Cold War era. That search extends beyond the uncertainties facing formerly oppressed nations and peoples to the reconceptualization of the relationships among states and the institutions that serve them. As Ambassador Jack Maresca said during the Institute's "Managing Chaos" conference, we ought to acknowledge that "chaos" may reside in our thinking about the world these days rather than in the world itself.

The reader may have noticed that some of Robert Kaplan's assertions contradict Professor Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations?" theory. While the latter sees inevitable conflict between civilizations, Kaplan suggests that the lines between peoples are not based on civilization, but on class or even life-style. As Kaplan notes, there is a sense in which, despite the differences in religion, history, and culture, middle-class Pakistanis have more in common with middle-class Americans than with their fellow countrymen who live in shanty towns. This remark may put Kaplan - the reputed author of "chaos theory - closer to the global optimist Francis Fukuyama than to Samuel Huntington. Fukuyama, of course, argues in "The End of History?" that democracy and the free market will triumph universally. One supposes he would square his argument with Kaplan's by saying that the forces that segment Pakistani society and threaten to rend social cohesion will eventually be overcome when Pakistan (and the world) becomes more "bourgeois. " The debate on post-Cold War identity issues is obviously complex and is being joined by exponents of a wide variety of views.

Regardless of one's reaction to various concerns about "identity" and to the claims of commentators like Kaplan and Jessica Mathews regarding the ultimate effect of demographic and environmental forces of disorder, it can hardly be disputed that the nation-state system is under considerable stress and cannot be expected to continue unchanged in the coming decades. The task before the international community is not deciding whether change is for better or worse, but how to galvanize the proponents of freedom, justice, order, and peace into responding appropriately to change. Wide-ranging and creative thinkers like Huntington, Tamas, Kaplan, and Mathews provoke our thinking-and in ways that are clearly vital to our ability to meet the challenge of international change.

LESSONS 13 - 18

GLOBALISATION : A CURSE OR BLESSING - SWADESHI AND UNITY OF MANKIND - .....

Swadeshi presupposed strength, unity, deep love and respect for one's own culture and tradition. Gandhi emphasised swadeshi movement for economic and social uplift of the masses. Constructive programme workers used Swadeshi as a weapon to awaken self-respect and fearlessness in the minds of the masses. Gandhi found in Swadeshi the one and only answer to remove poverty and inferiority complex from the common man. When he came back to India in 1915 from South Africa, he introduced a few handlooms at the Sabarmati Ashram. "The object that we set before ourselves was to be able to clothe ourselves entirely in cloth manufactured by our own hands," writes Gandhi. This practice brought in the importance of bread labour. For Gandhi Swadeshi meant Khadi, "If Khadi goes... there is no Swadeshi." He considered Charkha as the symbol of nation's economic strength, prosperity, self -respect and freedom. He went far as to say that India's slavery and meek acceptance of foreign domination was the result of the loss of Swadeshi. Swadeshi, is Svadharma applied to one's immediate environment, says Gandhi. There is no room for selfishness in Swadeshi as it "is the acme of universal service". The law of each country's progress demands on the part of its inhabitants preference for their own products and manufactures" (Gandhi).

Swadeshi implies patriotism. At the Missionary conference in Madras in 1916, Gandhi said, "Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote". In swadeshi, one should be ready to lay down one's life, when necessary, for the sake of familial, national and social service and honour in Young India, 26 December 1924, Gandhi wrote, "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standards, just as true ethics to be worth its name; must at the same time, be good economics". Exploitation does not find a place in Swadeshi.

"Swadeshi is both an end in itself and a means. It is the end of one's respect for one's own country, its religion and social set up. It is also a means to the larger end of the welfare of all humanity. Gandhi puts it beautifully - a man could serve his neighbours and humanity at the same time, the condition being that the service of the neighbours did not, in any way, involve the exploitation of any other human being. The neighbours would then understand the spirit in which the service was given. They would also know that they were expected to give their services to their neighbours. Thus considered it would spread like the proverbial showball gathering strength in geometrical progression encircling the whole earth". (Harijan, 23 March, 1947). Khadi is a symbol of Swadeshi. It is the symbol of Indian humanity, of its equality, Gandhi called it the sun of the solar system of the village economy and likened other handicrafts to planets, He wanted to see the charkha at work in every house. Swadeshi is based on rural economy. Rural economy is based on non-violence and truth and so exploitation has no place there.

Gandhi appealed to women to join the Swadeshi movement. He said, "I have not known a mother throwing away her baby even though, it may appear ugly to an outsider. So should it be with the patriotic women of India about Indian manufactures" (Young India, 11 August,1921, quoted in

Speeches and Writing pp.577-80). A human being whose heart is pure with love, and body with Swadeshi cloth, can face any challenges, he or she will be fearless, proud of his or her heritage. 'Swadeshi' is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service. Gandhi warns us against misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the Swadeshi movement. He says : Swadeshi like any other thing can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish. This is a danger which must be guarded against. To reject foreign manufactures just merely because they are foreign, and to go on wasting (national - personal - time and money in the promotion is one's country of manufactures for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and negation of Swadeshi spirit (M.K.Gandhi, Cent percent Swadeshi or the Economics of Village Industries, Ahmedabad, 1948, p.9) A true Swadeshi person will never hate a foreigner because his aim is to promote his own culture and culture oriented industry.

For the propagation of Swadeshi, Gandhi first took a vow himself - "From today, for life, I declare that I shall purchase for my wear only khaddar cloth hand made or hand spun yarn cap or head dress". Swadeshi is capable of limitless expansion. It gives honourable employment to the needy. "All we have to do is to industrialise not like a machine but like a bee".

Gandhi writes - when men will say, we shall confine ourselves to pure Swadeshi cloth even though we may have to remain satisfied with a mere loin cloth and when women will resolutely say we shall observe pure Swadeshi even though we may have to restrict ourselves to clothing just enough to satisfy the sense of modesty, then shall we be successful in the observance of the great Swadeshi vow. A tall order indeed to the modern youth : But order becomes very meaningful. "We are not bound to sell our cotton to any body" ....When Swadeshi pervades the country, everyone will be set thinking why cotton should not be refined and spun and woven in the place where it is produced and when the Swadeshi mantra resounds in every ear, millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India. Gandhi calls for the Hindus Mussalman and Christian, Parsi, Sikh and Jew who believes that he belongs to this country to take the Swadeshi vow and asks others to do likewise, "It is my humble belief that if we can not do even this little for our country we are born in it in vain"

The law of Swadeshi is ingrained in the basic nature of man it stands for the final emancipation of the human social from its earthly bondage, "Swadeshi is a spiritual discipline and if property carried out by us, will enable us to reach the goal of Sarvodaya which aims at the welfare of all not merely materially but towards the ultimate and of spiritual realisation" (Sarvodaya by T.S. Devadoss, p.199). It unites mankind under one umbrella-and umbrella of bread labour patriotism, neighbourliness, control over one's wants and svadharma. It is man's duty to living in tune with nature.

Basic Education

Gandhi wanted education to join hands with learning practically 'socially useful work'. In a society working towards the goal of Sarvodaya and Antyodaya, education has to be value oriented and spiritually inclined, Gandhi called such an education as Nai Talim or Basic Education, spearhead of a silent social Revolution. Basic education alone is capable of transforming the crisis ridden society.

BORDER DISPUTES AND REORGANIZING THE NATION STATES

The Modern State system:

The modem state system originated in Western Christendom (Europe) after the XV century. The tribal state and the feudal order gave way to modern state system. The power of the state was increasing through the ages. The growing war technology and the complex, centralised elaborate and effective administrative system contributed to this end.

The West Europeans strengthened their nation states and moved in to the various parts of the world with the gun powder and improved navy and consumer goods. This process started in the XVI century. They conquered land after land. The modern state system, war system and industrialism spread everywhere with their conquest without exception. They genocided the local populations in North America. Australia and New Zealand and permanently settled down there establishing new nation states and calling themselves as citizens of the conquered lands. Vast land, rich resources and cheap slave labour helped them to build up powerful nation states in these regions.

The West Europeans conquered South Africa but they could not destroy the local population (Negroes). But, they suppressed them. The European white minority styled themselves as citizens of South Africa established a system of government while the majority of the population (Negroes) were always kept in chains.

The West Europeans who conquered countries like India decided to rule, them with the help of their own citizens exploiting them to the maximum extent possible. But in China, the Europeans failed to conquer it fully but succeed only to the extent of establishing spheres of influence. While these conquests were achieved in the XVI, XVII, XVIII & XIX centuries. Europe itself was undergoing transformation. The forces of nationalism were strengthened. Spain and Portugal started the colonial race. Britain and France emerged as powerful nations. The attempts to conquer nations in West Europe failed (as in the ease of Louis XIV and Napoleon) resulting in the strengthening of nationalism. Greek War of independence which achieved success in 1822 is only as indication of the future trends. Italy and Germany emerged as unified nations. The Moscow state emerged as the "giant" Russia. But states like Poland continuously struggled for an independent nationhood. The European brand of nationalism was a narrow and monolithic nationalism.

With these developments came the struggle for decolonization. European conquerors often "united" divided nations so that they could serve their purpose better. But this resulted in the development of new nation states in the Orient. Countries like India which was never politically united, were united under the British Raj. When countries attained freedom, often their borders were not well-defined resulting in conflict.

The Border disputes:

Border dispute was the natural consequence of modern state system. Today in UN, there are 185 sovereign states. But there are countries like Taiwan and Switzerland which are still outside the

U.N. If we can include such countries as well, then the list will include a little more than 190 nation states. A glance at the nation states would show the vast variety. China has a population of more than one hundred crores. But there are countries with less miles than one lakh population. There are countries whose area exceed millions of sq. miles but there are countries whose are is less than 200 sq miles. The nation states were the result of certain historical circumstances and there is nothing sacred about them. The nation state are unequal in area, population, development and resources creating conflict. Powerful nations want to control and conquer and weak nations try to protect their protect their boundaries by all possible means.

Border disputes are of various types. When a particular nation state is newly established, often its borders are not well defined. Though according to one side, the border is well defined, the other side holds that it is not so. The latter reads a historical error and injustice. For some nations, the present borders are quite inconvenient. They see again in extending territories. Some nations hold that they want to make the borders more meaningful. When a weak country gains strength, naturally it wants to prove its might by occupying more territories. Economic, political and social factors contribute to border disputes. To increase one's own strength and to reduce the other nation's strength may be prime factors in border disputes. Countries like Australia with well defined natural boundaries have no problem. USA and Canada due to their well defined relationship, have no border problem. Another aspect of border dispute is breaking up of bigger nations and building up of now nations. In most of the countries of the world, some section of its population wants to establish a new nation state for itself. The recent Sri Lanka problem will serve as a classic-example. When attempts at separations are made, one of their major tasks is defining the boundaries of a possible new state.

The arms industry is growing day and night and its product have to be sold. Border disputes are often deliberately engineered by superpowers so that their weapons may be sold. Border dispute is a powerful instrument for achieving and strengthening alliance systems and establishing a new balance of power. The politicians, often try to save their collapsing image, open up new, border disputes to divert the attention of the people and gain new support and popularity.

Maintaining the status quo

According to some the present borders of nation states should be taken for granted as final once for all. Nation have become powerful or the would join the power blocks for help. So any attempt to change the existing border will ultimately lead to a total war as happened during world wars I and II. Others would argue that maintaining status quo with regard to borders of nation states simply means perpetuating the existing unjust state of affair. How can one build peace on injustice and untruth

Solving border disputes by bilateral arrangements:

Nations should realize that the easiest, simplest and economical way is to solve the border disputes by mutual bilateral arrangements. It is in me profound interest of both the parties. The west European nations have now solved their border problems, after wasting centuries of wasteful attempts at conquest, by mutual understanding and good neighborly relationship. The Third world countries should realize this.

Solving border disputes through international efforts:

Nations can bring their border problem before the international court of justice. They can get the help of International expert advice. The help of the third party may also be sought. For example, In the Israel-Palestine conflict, Norway peace makers helped negotiation. An international peace keeping force may take charge of the disputed area or zone. Disputes over properties were once settled by violence. But now such matters age taken to the court. Such a shift should take place with regard to the border disputes.

Reorganizing Nation States:

As indicated earlier, there is nothing sacred about the border of the nation states. They are all results of historical developments India originally consisted of several nations like the Pandya country, Chola country, Hoysala country, Vijayanagar country etc. But today they are all part of the Indian Nation. If this transformation can happen why not the greater and much grand union of nation states form into regional as global federations. The unit of the world presupposes the removal of poverty and injustice and achieving equality, liberty and fraternity. This is possible only when the nation states are equal by size, population, resource and development. This can be achieved by rational and meaningful redrawal of the world map. This is not an entirely new thing. In 1815, after the defeat of Napoleon. Vienna Congress was convened. One purpose of this conference was to redraw the map of the ex-Napoleonic empire. After every major war, the map of some area is redrawn. Now can we not do it without a major war. Today we can not afford to have a major war. A major war may mean total destruction of life on this planet. We have to realize this. Will Durant wrote in 1968, that Mankind will unite in the face of an external danger from the external world. But today the danger of total destruction is all around us. Let us realize this and act accordingly. There is no ready formula. We have to use all our intelligence. The world will then consist of a few hundred, say five hundred or thousand nations arranged under a dozen or so regional federations living in happiness and prosperity and in peace and stability. This is not impossible. Our continued survival depends on this. Let us remember the golden rule - Swadeshi and Jai Jagat. One without the other has no meaning, Sovereignty.

There are thoughtful concerned persons who cling to the nation state as inevitable, God-given and inviolate. For example, Reinhold Niebuhr supports the view that the nation state is the best from of society possible. As pointed out by Elizabeth Jay Hollins they strive to find the "Solution" to our many problems, particularly war, in terms of this image. They recognize that war must be prevented, and they see sovereign nations working together to this end. One can say that they see as international order. They think in terms of balance of power and spheres of influence and of international law.

There are others who see the nation state as less important than the newly emerging concept of humankind. They see the nation state as less useful today to serve the needs of men who make it up and ultimately are its source of power, its rational etre than other structures and institutions might be. They see supranational or world order. They think in terms of world institution of varying degrees of development and of world law.

Grenville Clark says, "There is no enforceable law against maintenance by any nation of whatever armaments it chooses; no enforceable law against war by any nation for any cause or no cause no standing world police force: no tribunals to which all nations are required to submit their disputes". This leads to the present national military power system, i.e., the security of each nation is dependent on its power relative to its neighbors and potential enemies. Hence the arms race. Equally important is the fact that for all national movements the security of their nation is properly paramount. Again, hence the arms race. Clark says that if you can focus on and properly solve this One problem, the security problem, so that there isn't the justiable fear, then all other problems and the opportunities to deal with them are seen from a totally different perspective, Clark contents that the solution to the national security problem in the present age can only be found by a radical operation, a true system change which violates the perfect sovereignty of the nation state. The charter of the United Nations does not take that step.

Hans, J. Morgenthau says, "The congenital disease (of the U.N) is the insoluble contradiction between national sovereignty and an effective international organization. U.N. is neither a luxury not a nuisance-but a necessity. The potentialities of the United Nations are more important still. For the U.N. has taken the first hesitant step towards developing into a supranational authority which would protect the interest of its members and thereby insure order and peace throughout the world. In the nuclear age, nations can no longer afford to protect and promote their separate interests through the traditional use of force without risking their own destruction. They need a supranational authority which will do for them what they can no longer afford to do". As pointed out by Elizabeth Jay Hellins, it is important to recognize that in a small but definite way the sanctity of national sovereignty was eaten into after, World War II in a way that did not take place after World War I. The Nuremberg Trials repudicated once for all the doctrine that "My country right or wrong" was an adequate justification of inhuman behavior to other humans.

To quote Emery Reves

The nation states as they were set up in the eighteenth century, and as they are organized in the democracies today, are nothing but the instruments of the sovereign people, created for the specific purpose of achieving certain objectives. Should the people realize and come to the conclusion that in certain fields they would be better protected by delegating part of their sovereignty to bodies other than nation states, them nothing would be 'surrendered'. Rather something would be created for the better protection of the lives and liberties of all peoples.

"Sovereignty would continue to reside in the people in accordance with the original conception of democracy, but institutions would be created to give realistic and effective expression to the democratic sovereignty of the people in place of the inefficient and tyrannical institutions of the nation states".

"The people 'would surrender' their sovereignty only if sovereign power to create law were abandoned to an arbitrary authority of a lawless power." "But to transfer certain aspects of our sovereign rights from national legislative, judiciary and executive bodies to equally democratically

elected and democratically controlled universal legislative, judiciary and executive bodies in order to create, apply and execute law for the regulation of human relationships in the international a field where such a law has never existed, is not surrender but acquisition. It is an exchange of a phantom asset, the product of unfulfilled and unfulfillable promises, for a real and tangible asset".

Breaking up the giants:

At present more than 1,000 billion dollars are annually spent on preparation for war when 1,503 million people (nearly 40% of the world's population) have no effective medical services, 570 million people are severely under-nourished about 3000 million lack access to safe water and nearly 750 000 die each months from water borne diseases, about 800 million people are illiterate and nearly 250 million children below the age 14 do not attend school. The following table will indicate the wide gap between the developed countries (DCS) and less developed countries (LDCS).

	LDCS	DCS
1. Population	75%	25%
2. GNP	21%	79%
3. Export earnings	25%	75%
4. Military expenses	23%	77%
5. Weapon imports	81%	19%
6. Energy consumption	23%	77%

In the present world of economic injustice and power imbalance the people in the developing countries suffer more than the people in the industrialised countries, the rich become richer and the poor become poorer and also get more children. The rich nations and rich elite within the poor nations lead an extravagant life at the expense of poor nations and poor people. Scarce resources are wasted either luxuriously or for military purposes. Unless such a situation changes, the world will not be a safe place. George Lakey in his celebrated Strategy for a Living Revolution has said, "The nation state system should dissolve into two levels of power: transnational system to make humankind-sized decisions (such as how to relate to the sea-bed, or how to exercise peace-keeping functions), and sub-national institutions to make small area decisions, some present nations may be viable in this context, but the Soviet Union and the United States would need to be broken up into smaller units" (written in the seventies!).

THE BEYOND WAR STATEMENT

This statement, which sets forth the basic philosophy of the Beyond War movement was developed after hundreds of personal interviews with arms control experts, business and professional people, military and government personnel, educators, scientists and people from all walks of life.

BEYOND WAR : A NEW WAY OF THINKING

"The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe".

Albert Einstein, 1946

The development, deployment and use of nuclear weapons have forever altered our environment. For the first time, a species has the capability of destroying itself and its life support system. Our thinking, however, has not yet caught up with that reality. In order to survive, we must change our mode of thinking. This change requires knowledge, decision and action.

I) KNOWLEDGE

(A) War is Obsolete

Throughout recorded history, war has been used to acquire, to defend, to expand, to impose, to preserve. War has been the ultimate arbiter of differences between nations. War and the preparation for war have become intrinsic to human culture. Now we must accept the reality that war has become obsolete.

We cannot fight a full scale nuclear war. A full scale nuclear war would destroy civilization as we know it and would threaten

We cannot fight a limited nuclear war. Detonation of even a small percentage of the world's nuclear arsenals could trigger a "nuclear winter" and cause the extinction of humanity. It is also highly pro-able that a limited nuclear war would escalate to a full-scale nuclear war.

We cannot fight a conventional war among the superpowers such a war would likely escalate to a nuclear war.

We cannot fight a conventional war among the non superpower without potentially involving the superpowers. The growing interdependence of nations has produced a network of "vital interests" that the superpowers have pledged to defend. This defence could, in turn, escalate through conventional war to nuclear war. Today, because war has become obsolete, we must learn to resolute conflict without violence.

(B) We Are One

"...Once a photograph of the earth taken from the outside, is available... a new idea as powerful as any in history will let loose".

Sir Fred Hoyle, 1948.

The view of the earth from space is a symbol of the interconnectedness of all life. This symbol of oneness is validated by a variety of scientific discoveries of the last century.

> "evade decision is to decide; to hold the matter is to decide,.... There are a thousand ways of saying no; one way of saying yes; and no way of saying anything else".
>
> Gregory Viastos, 1934.

III) ACTION: BUILDING AGREEMENT:

Societies generate their own visions of what is possible and draw their behaviour from those visions. The nation must renew its commitment to the vision upon which it was founded and build agreement about the implications of that vision in the contemporary world.

"We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unallenable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Declaration of Independence, 1776.

We have not always lived up to the highest expression of our founding principles. For example, the principle that "all men are created equal" originally meant only white, tax-paying, property-owning males. Clearer understanding of these principles has resulted in creative change. When enough of us agreed that "all men are created equal" meant black and white, we abolished slavery, when enough of its agreed that it meant women and men, we instituted women's suffrage. When enough of us agreed that it meant more than "separate but equal", we recognized civil rights.

When new agreements about principles are reached, laws, treaties and policies are developed to implement them. That is the only sequence of lasting change: agreement about principle, then law. Law cannot effectively precede agreement. Agreement must spring understanding of principles. The action through which agreement is built is education.

Today education must be based upon the knowledge that war is obsolete and that we are one. We now know that the principle "all men are created equai" applies to every human being on the planet. We now know that the unalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit.

Happiness cannot be secured by war. We must now work to-gether to build agreement based on that knowledge throughout our society. Power comes from individuals who are connected to universal principle and who are working together to build new agreements. The power of this nation has come from the involvement of the people in the unfolding of our founding principles. We have

always agreed that such involvement is not the exclusive right of the elite. Truth is self-evident; it is available to all. Power flows not from the top, but from the consent of the governed. Our Great Seal says it clearly; E.Pluribus Unum "Out of Many, One".

We have become a demonstration of that statement on our Great Seal. The possibility that resulted from the process of involving people in the pursuit of truth has been unfolding for 200 years. This process has served as a beacon of hope and inspiration to people around the world. It has drawn the largest diversity of people ever assembled in one nation. We have gathered the "Many" - the religions, the races; the nationalities working for the well being of the 'ONE', the Whole, the United States of America.

To fulfill the purpose and vision upon which this nation was founded, we must change our understanding of the principle "Out of Many, One" to include the whole earth and all life. We must now work together to build a world beyond war.

> "I know of no safe repository of the ultimate power of society but the people. And if we think them not enlightened enough, the remedy is not to take the power from them, but to inform them by education."
>
> Thomas Jefferson, 1820.

Ecology provides the understanding that all parts of a living system are interconnected and that greater stability results from increased diversity. Biology reveals that in a totally interested system, the principle of survival of the fittest has new meaning. The "fittest" is now seen as that species which best contributes to the well being of the whole system.

Psychology explains the projection of the dark side of the personnality upon an "enemy". That knowledge gives us new tools to understand conflict and to improve relationships between individuals and between nations.

Together these discoveries reveal in a new way the meaning of "one". We are one interconnected, interdependent life-system, living on one planet.

(C) The New Mode of Thinking:

The knowledge that war is obsolete and that we are one is the foundation of the new mode of thinking. Our mode of thinking is what we identify with. It determines our attitudes, our motivation, and our actions.

Until recently, we had not experienced the earth as one integrated system. We had limited experience of other peoples and other cultures. Therefore our primary loyalty has been limited to our family, tribe, race, religion, ideology, or nation. Our identification has been restricted, and we have often seen those beyond that identification as enemies.

In the nuclear age this limited identification threatens all of humanity. We can no longer be preoccupied with enemies. We can no longer see ourselves as separate. Modem transportation,

communication system and the discoveries of science have increased tremendously our direct and indirect experience of the world. We now see that all of life is interdependent that we share a common destiny, that our individual well being depends on the well being of the whole system. We must now identify with all humanity, all life, the whole earth. This expanded identification is the new mode of thinking. It may be that we will never eliminate conflict between individuals or between nations. There will always be different perspectives, different ideas and different approaches to problem. However, an overriding identification with the whole earth will enable us to resolve conflicts by discovering solutions that benefit all diversity will no longer be a cause of war. When we change our mode of thinking, diverse points of view will become a source of creative solutions.

The human species has repeatedly demonstrated the ability to change its mode of thinking. As we have matured and acquired new knowledge, we have expanded our identification beyond the tribe, the clan and the city-state. As we began to expand our identification beyond race, we abolished the institution of slavery. Now, by expanding our identification to the whole earth and all humanity we will build a world beyond war.

> "The Age of Nations is past. The task before us now, if we would not perish, is to sake off our ancient prejudices, and to build the earth".
>
> Pierre Telihard Chardin, 1936.

III) DECISION

The process of building a world beyond war begins with the acknowledgment that war is obsolete and that we are one. Change, then requires a decision to reject totally the obsolete and to commit totally to build upon the identification.

Decision means "to cut" (cision) "away from" (de-), to reject forever an option, to close the door to an existing possibility. Without a decision it is impossible to discover the new. There is always peril in moving into the unknown. We cannot preview all that will happen. We must draw upon our individual and collective experience of making such "leaps" in the past.

The decision to change our mode of thinking must be made on an individual basis. Individuals are the basic elements of societies. Without individuai change, societal change cannot occur. Each of us must decide to adopt the new mode of thinking as the basis of his or her life.

IV) INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS AND TENSIONS: HAS MAN A FUTURE

International Conflict:

Conflict is an activity that is found almost everywhere. It is found throughout the biological world, where the conflict both of individuals and of species is an important part of picture. It is found everywhere in the world of man, and all the social sciences study it.

A conflict is a situation that involves at least two parties. A party is a behaviour unit, that is, some aggregate, or organization that is capable of assuming a number of different positions while

retaining a common identity or boundary. Internally, a conflicting party is a complex organized aggregates of constituent parts. These constituent parts are not in conflict, at least not in the same sort of conflict that is : "waged" by the whole entity. On the contrary, success in conflict waged by the entity depends on how well its parts are integrated, i.e., co-oporate with each other. Therefore every instance of external conflicts implies internal 'cooperation'.

The Nation States are the most powerful cohesive units of the modem world. The conflicts between individual nations or groups of nations-that is international conflict-are the most important aspect of our world.

Causes of International Conflict:

1) The nation states with their present day boundaries are the result of historical circumstances. In the case of many countries, they have yet to solve their border problems.

2) Historically nations expanded territories by waging wars on the neighbours and this trend is still very much alive.

3) Nations want to acquire strategic positions with regard to defence and availability of resources.

4) Traditional rivalries and memories of the past nurture conflicts.

5) The big powers often 'set' other nations at war. This may be due to various reasons a) to increase the arms trade b) to localise the superpower conflict c) to achieve a new alliance system d) to build up new power position.

6) Ideological differences lead to war.

7) Religious differences lead to war

8) Nations go to war to make up internal conflicts.

9) The politicians try to build up their images by waging wars.

10) The ever increasing production of arms and ever increasing military personnel lead to war.

11) To test one's strength and to vitalize the defence forces, nations involve in wars.

12) A nation may feel more stronger and thinks that it is the right time to strike the neighbour successfully.

13) A nation may perceive that the neighbour is divided and weak and would like to use this opportunity to strike.

14) A nation may be jealous of neighbour's growth and possibly afraid of the fact that it may become a formidable challenge in the future and so it would strike now itself.

15) Greed and imperial designs often lead to war.

16) Evil leaders lead nations into war.

17) War hysteria manifests itself in wars.

18) Discrimination and exploitation lead to wars.

19) Racial issues lead to war. Linguistic factors also lead to war.

20) The neighbour may be a menace and may be helping the forces which try to disintegrate this nation. So the latter may strike at the former.

21) Disputes relating to various issues-often tiny ones-may lead to war.

22) The roots of international .conflicts ultimately seem to be the arms race, industrialization, poverty, inequality, ambition, etc.

The evils of International Conflict:

Though it is often believed that war brings decisive and quick results, this is not true to a large extent. Wars either lead to total genocide of the enemy (As in the case of the tribals of North America, Australia, New Zealand, etc..,) or temporary defeat of the enemy. In the second case the enemy will wait for the right time to strike again. Wars, thus, lead to temporary success and 'peace'. In fact 'peace' is really the gap between two wars. Today total genocide of a particular nation seems to be difficult. In a world where many countries are possessing nuclear weapons and there is always the possibility for military alliance, it is difficult to totally destroy a nation. But today the possibility is that both the parties may be completely destroyed. The total annihilation of the entire human race is a real possibility.

This is the consequence of the Nuclear Age. More than Sixty thousand missiles are ready round the clock placed in various parts of the world in air, water and land with 'giant' atom bombs. International conflict simply means a possible mass suicide of the humankind.

Some argue that the nuclear weapons have deterrent value. The fear of total destruction keeps the superpowers away from direct confrontation. This has created a new balance of power and so an equilibrium. But this equilibrium is not static. Both super powers, go on increasing and improving the weapons. Now the super powers have reached a stage where they can destroy more than are hundred planets like ours. But still they are continuing the arms race. At times, any one of the superpowers may feel that it has a lead and can strike first and succeed. This is highly dangerous. But with Gorbachev and Yeltsin and the fall of Soviet Union. USA has emerged as the only superpower. History has provided new opportunities to build up global peace. But whether USA has the wisdom and will to do this?

Previously there was scope for lot of adventure, heroism and sacrifice during war. But today war simply means indiscriminate but most efficient means of killing the masses. War might have

placed a useful role in the past. But in the nuclear weapon age there is no justification for war. Tolstoy and Gandhi rejected war in total as killing and as a criminal offence.

As explained elsewhere, the war machinery is a powerful mechanism by which the superpowers and other developed countries, exploit the underdeveloped countries. The arms race is the ultimate cause for world poverty and hunger.

In the nuclear age, no one can distinguish between a conventional war and a nuclear war. The beginning may be a conventional war but it is bound to lead to a nuclear war. This possibility will increase as more and more nations would acquire nuclear weapons.

The Little used court that could replace war:

When Iraq and Iran had a boundary dispute, they went to war. When Canada and the United States had a boundary dispute, they agreed in a 1981 treaty to go to court - the International Court of Justice at The Hague. The court's judgement - settle a disagreement that has simmered since the 1960s involving fishing rights and mineral wealth on the continental shelf off the Coast of Maine.

How Sensible

How civilized

How rare

The Delimination of the Maritime Boundary in the Gulf of Maine Area was one-of just four cases before the court in a recent 12-month period. Between 1947 and mid-1981, the World Court decided only 65 cases-an average of about two cases a year. During approximately the same period, nations "settled" their differences in 140 separate wars.

The World Court is so little-used, and so rarely in the limelight, that its existence scarcely registers on the public's consciousness...

More serious is the failure to regard the courtroom and the rule of law as substitutes for force. The pastoral letter on war prepared for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops examines strategies for shaping a peaceful world without making a single reference to the World Court.

The United States stress on settling disputes through legal institutions played its part in the genesis of the first World Court and tis frequent condemnation of lawless international conduct make the United States the natural leader of a movement to revive interest in the International Court of justice.

The Soviet Union has refused to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the court. So have more than 100 other members of the United Nations. The United States should be challenging them to led down their barriers to the court. It should remove its own barrier by completing the work begun by Dwight Elsenhower to repeal the Connaly Amendment.

The quest for an end to the arms race make the time rips for leaders in both parties to rediscover the World Court. The ultimate objective of arms reductions is, in Adlai Stevenson's words, "a world without war". Stress on arms becomes unavoidable, however in a world without the capacity to settle differences by peaceful means.

Those who push arms control will have an incomplete agents until their vision of the future includes a strengthened World Court.

Has Man a Future?

In the post Second World War period more than 125 wars have been waged. There were the super power involvement sin these wars but their involvement was not total and a direct superpower confrontation has so far been avoided. The deterrent value of the nuclear weapons is often praised. This is due to rather luck and probability than anything else.

Due to the development of science and technology a section of the world's population is living in extreme affluence which man could have never dreamed of. If we can intelligently plan and order our life on this planet, the entire human race will be prosperous and happy. Then there will be the "Kingdom of God", Ram Rajyam on this earth. The greatest obstacles to this are the international conflicts which acquire a new dimension due to the ever-growing arms race and the threatening environmental pollution which is due to unwise industrialization. The arms race and unwise industrialization have indirectly caused the degrading poverty and inequalities. The greatest challenge before us is to end the arms race and the unwise industrialization. International conflicts can be eliminated by a two by process.

1) Shifting from nationalism to internationalism and moving towards a world government.

2) Stopping the arms race and planning for a wise global level opmental strategy.

If the international conflicts are not eliminated, humankind is bound to be doomed. Let us do our best in stopping this. It was the wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi who worked for building up international understanding, developing an alternative to war, removing poverty and inequalities, humanizing technology and stopping the arms race even several decades in advance. Even after achieving unity of humankind, and prosperity for all, conflicts are bound to arise. We should evolve a new method for solving conflicts in the place of war. Satyagraha should be developed as an alternative to war.

The way out

Dr.A.J.Toynbee writes: "The greater material power that man's scientific and technological power places in his hands, the wider grows the gap between his material success and his spiritual failure and the greater grows the danger that he will misuse his enhanced material power for the wicked and insane purpose of destroying himself. The invention and use of the atomic weapons has made this danger acute, and this has made it urgent for man to save himself from himself accomplishing a sudden great moral advance. It has now become imperative for Man to renounce the

use of violence, and this not only in the particular institutionalized form of war, but in every kind of relation between human being and another".

Removal of hatred, building up love and friendship peaceful resolution of conflicts and efficient use of non-violent action as an alternative to war and violence are all the basic aspects for building up a New World Order. Kenneth Boulding has written "We are all flying in an enormous plane called the Earth that is about to be shot down from inside". Let us stop this possible calamity wisely and march ahead.

It is argued that the nuclear capability of superpowers has served a deterrence and thereby the nuclear war is postponed. A new diplomacy which is called the nuclear diplomacy has come into existence and Nixon, former President of US feels the nuclear diplomacy has played a decisive role in Korea, in 1956 crisis in Suez, in 1959 in Berlin and in 1962 in Cuba. But this nuclear diplomacy can be used equally if not more effectively by any other nuclear power also and this fact has nullified the effectiveness of the nuclear diplomacy either of the US or any other nuclear power.

It is true as Roger Rosenblatt says graphically in the "Times" special section on the Atomic Age that the people of Hiroshima, the course of World War II, subsequent wars subsequent peace, the position of science, the role of the military, international politics, the nature of knowledge, art, culture and conduct of lives all changed. Other ages in history were characterized by heroes or by ideas. The atomic age is characterized by a weapon and a threat. Our generation has come to accept the fact of the atomic threat.

"Forty years now we have been living atomic age, no longer new, yet nothing has replaced it. Those born in the atomic age most likely will die in the atomic age, if they do not die because of it. What people saw in Hiroshima was not only the suffering of people' the devastation of a city; the conclusion of a long and deadly war; the development of a scientific-military partnership; a new set of rules for U.S. Presidents and for international politics. It was the vision of the future, a forecast of the world's destruction, we did not like what we saw. We therefore went about the business of accommodating that unhappy vision, and avoiding it at the same time".

We have realized after the Hiroshima bomb how small we are, how accidental our prominence, how subject to external manipulation. We have seen not only a weapon that could boil the planet and create a death-life; we saw yet one more proof of our importance. We live in a world of virile weapons and important men as written by the French Historian, Raymond Aron.

Are we necessarily destined to be impotent in the context of the atom bomb? Here comes Gandhi and he prescribes a soothing antidote to war whether conventional or nuclear. He gave a new idea to resolve the conflicts in a non-violent way. That was Shanti Sena, a potential programme which can encompass the entire globe when it is understood correctly and given pride of place in the scheme of programmes by the world governments. It was given to the creative genius of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to inaugurate a new thinking on the lines of setting up a UN Shanti Sena force which could be used in the infra and international conflicts. A novel idea indeed and he was prepared to enlist 2 lakh Shanti Sainiks for this purpose and give suitable training for them in the non-violent techniques

conflict resolution. We have witnessed the multinational peace keeping forces serving under the UN Flag. The guiding principle that dictates the nature of UN operations is by peaceful means not by force of arms. The success of that principle has been illustrated by the UN in Cyprus.

Cyprus, between 1964-69, was brought from a state of extreme manifest violence and psychological, inter-communal tension to a situation of comparative calm, military sobriety and reduced inter-communal tension, which allowed talks on the future ethnic management of the island's political affairs to begin. This was achieved not by force but by patient negotiation and peaceful intervention in respect of incidents which could have escalated and destroyed progress towards a more settled atmosphere. Never once in those four years did the UN soldiers use their rifles to fire a single round of ammunition to halt violence or a violent situation. Twenty four hours a day and on many occasions during each day UN soldiers changed the minds of those determined on violence or counter -violence by simply using quiet diplomacy, infinite tact, gentle persuasion and restraint, but never the power of the self-loading rifle. The issues they dealt with were often as socially orientated as they were militarily - the UN soldier acted in all three dimensions of non violent action; as a peace-maker, as a peace keeper and a peace builder, In the 1969s the UNs methodology succeeded in Cyprus where in the 1950s that of the British had failed using three times as many soldiers.

The above successful experience of the UN peacekeeping force is a pointer to the evolving of Shanti Sena under UN Flag. Why not? Quite a number of conflicts are demanding immediate attention of the peace loving people of the world. Ethnic violence in Sri Lanka, Aghan crisis, Yugoslavia crisis, Tibet Problem, crisis in the Middle East, etc., are there waiting to be solved peacefully and amicably. Third party approach which is a multi professional one, a combination of peace making, peace keeping and peace building can help resolve the above problems. There lies me future of human kind.

APPENDIX - I

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

By Maurice F. Strong

In an overall sense, I guess its somewhat like the old bad news/ good news story. The bad news is that the end of the world is coming. The good news is-not yet. And not necessarily!

Importances of the 80s: The Bad News

What kind of future can we glimpse? Surely it is that the 1980s the decade in which we are privileged to live, is probably the most important in the history of the human race. Many eminent scientists and researchers have clearly confirmed the fact that If we don't take the right decisions, if we don't start very well on the sane course during the next decade, that the odds of our doing so beyond it are certainly very slim indeed.

First of all it is a dangerous period-despite the optimism, of many people. I too am an optimist-optimism is the only real practical philosophy. But to be realistically optimistic requires an

acknowledgment of the fact that we do live in a dangerous era: danger of war, danger indeed of the collapse of western civilization as know it. Incidentally, I think it is also quite clear that if we arrogant members of the wealthy, privileged and powerful societies of the industrialized world take an objective look at history, take an objective look at what would happen if war and economic collapse-and the two might go together-did in fact occur, the rebuilding would not likely occur in any of our countries. There would be a shift of power outside of the orbit of the present industrialized world.

The conflicts within societies are escalating. It's quite clear you don't have to be a Marxist to realize that the slowing of growth which has permitted all sectors of industrialized societies to gain each year a little bit more out of an expanding pie has changed. It has also led, and will continue to lead to an increasing degree of struggle and conflicting class interests within economic societies. The dangers to the earth's biosphere and its resource systems have been very well documented. I won't go through that documentation except only to indicate that close to one-third of the world's available arable land will be destroyed in the next 20 years at a time when the population of the world will be increasing by some 50 percent. But we now perceive that the limits we face in terms of resources are not so much physical limits. There are physical limits of course, to such renewable resources as oil. But the important limits are the limit of our own inadequacies, of political and social will and the inadequacies of institutions that can give effect to that will.

Poverty and hunger are probably the central issues. If we do not solve the problems of poverty and hunger, and underprivilege and inequity, the chances of avoiding the kind of conflicts that can only lead to war and economic disaster will be very slim indeed. We can already identify the dangers of a softness and debilitation that inevitably sets in to what we call successful societies. There are increasing sign of softness and debilitation in our societies today.

The breakdown of large institutions which are simply not able to adapt to change is a very real likelihood. The difficulties being experienced by Chrysler Corporation. I think are likely to be followed by similar difficulties of many large corporations. Similar tendencies are already exident in the institutions of government. It is clear that we are moving, as we must to less literarchial types of institution. Hierarchical institutions are breaking down. Many decisions which purport to be made by large corporation can no longer be made by those corporations. And its the same with governments. The institutions of business and government today are incapable of making decisions stick over the objections of those who are affected by those decisions and whose cooperation is necessary for their implementation.

Importance of the 80s: The Good News

On the other hand, I do believe that this is still the most exciting and promising period of human history. It is in fact possible to gain for the whole world a release from poverty and from the tedium and slavery and coercion of the kind of work that, characterized the early stages of the Industrial Revolution - still does in many development countries. There is a multiplicity of new options for people. And surely individual freedom is a question of multiplying the options, multiplying the choices for individuals. The opportunities for this are mind-boggling: the prospects of a golden era are very

real, very possible. The opportunities for new initiatives as individuals, as institutions, as businesses have probably never been greater.

Transition is the theme. We are in an important period of transition. When you're in the eye of the storm it's often difficult to see the direction the storm is heading and to appreciate its real dynamics.

Society has become global in the true sense. If you take a look at most of the threats and positive possibilities that face us, this requires a kind of global action which no government, no group, no corporation can dictate on its own. Therefore a global system of governance is a necessity, not an option.

Universalization of Culture

Cultural nationalism is a powerful force today. On a world basis the reassertion of people's commitment to their own roots, to their own culture, is a very powerful driving force. Perhaps it is a bit paradoxical but never the less understandable that this comes at the very time when we are seeing a greater universalization of culture. The whole globe is overlain by a thin layer of universal culture manifest by airports, by conferences, by seminars, by international hotels, by the music systems that instantly transport the culture of modern music around the world, and by the many other forms through which this universal culture shows itself. Its also very largely a western culture and this sets up tremendous dichotomies and conflicts within those who must live both in their traditional culture and the universal culture.

This reaction against the universalization of culture in which people want to pull back into their cultural roots is a very logical thing. It should not be seen as divisive, in my view, as it could result in a real strengthening of the units which make up national communities and the world community.

Initiatives for Action

One of the thing I've learned in looking ecological systems is that the strong systems, the healthy systems, are those which preserve the maximum variety and diversity.

Surely this insight is perhaps one of the most important ones that we can bring into the processes of institution building and governance. Information networks have to be broad, complex, and even loose. Action centres, however, must be small, tight and therefore mobile, responsive and flexible. You have to differentiate between information for decision-making. And the fact that you do need complex networks to inform and illuminate decision-making does not mean that these same networks can be appropriate for implementing those decisions.

What then can we do about world problems? It is always frustrating to have people describe the great global issues, the problems, and leave one with a sense of frustration and despair about what we can actually do about them. Daniel Yankelovich, in his long experience as a leading U.S. Pollster, has found that people will only respond to cries of danger and crisis when someone can show them that they can actually do something about it. I think that's a very important thing for us to bear mind.

This means we've got to look at world problems not only in terms of defining them but in terms of what we can do about them. Here I think that this vague thing that we talk about in terms of values and life styles is really the key. It really does matter how people live. It really does matter what people think to be important because that's what determines the choices they make, as consumers; as voters, as citizens. We all work within a cultural and institutional context which constrains us. I have been frustrated trying to live a more ecologically sound life. I'm sure you also have been frustrated in trying to do it without opting out of the system. It isn't easy because we all do live in a system where it isn't easy not to have a private automobile. Life styles are important; individual action is the key. However, collective action is also necessary in a complex society.

Constructive Cultural Revolution

Changes in culture and values are essential. The competitive culture of industrialized societies is so pervasive that we who live in them think of these as the natural thing. But we have to recognize that, from a historical perspective. The Western culture which was born with the Industrial Revolution and has nourished the material progress of the West is in fact an aberration in human affairs. The pendulum must swing back towards more co-operative behaviour within national societies and internationally. Young people are showing the way by opting for less material life styles. Is this not a positive portent for the future or is it just a passing fancy? Look at how many children of senior executive officers are following or opting for pathways quite different than those that they have learned at home from their parents. This is not just rebellion. To me this is constructive revolution. (Note: The case in India is different. Here people are enslaved by "varna/caste" chain hereditary occupation!).

New International Economic Order Needed

The other thing we needed is a whole change in our concepts of growth. The more mature industrialized societies are in many ways like the individual human being who has reached the stage of physical maturity. We still need a sound physical body, sound physical infrastructure for continued health. But to say that growth has stopped because the stage where physical growth is no longer needed would clearly be wrong. It's just as wrong for societies, once they have reached the stage where they are capable of meeting all their basic material needs, to think that they must continue the same kind of processes that were appropriate when meeting those material needs was properly their prime objective. What we need is not the stopping of growth but changing the dynamics and the direction and the content growth.

This calls for a new economics which requires new approaches to the kind of self discipline. We need to avoid problems such as inflation. After all, inflation is simply breakdown at the economic level of individual and collective discipline and the attempt to shift burdens from one part of society to another. There has been a real decline in the rate of productivity growth as presently measured. But there are other kinds of productivity possible. For example, increasing bio productivity, increasing energy productivity, conservation, the fact that you can substitute other things for capital. The tremendous revolution that's taken place in the electronic media, and in the capacity of computers and information systems has been accompanied by a reduction of energy and materials requirements.

Technology can be used as a positive tool for creating the new growth society. We also must make the world economic system work for the majority of the world, for the two-thirds in the developing world. Without them it will not work. Our world system simply will not function effectively without their participation. At this moment they are signalling "Look we want to participate, obviously this system of international institutions and attitudes, this system of international arrangements and treaties which now constitutes the existing system, was invented after the last War by the countries that emerged victorious from that War, and is mainly based on the perceptions and the interests of the industrialized countries. It needs changing. Such change is as much in the interest of the industrialized world as it is in the interest of the two thirds who are calling for it. We in the industrialized world should take a hard look at our whole card. We should take a hard look at realities.of our own future self-interest and recognize that a New International Economic Order is as much a compelling necessity for us as it is for the Third World".

More Than Material Progress

And the Third World itself is in transition. We use the term "the Third World" but there are many many worlds in the Third World; some ancient cultures from which we in the West have derived much of the knowledge and tradition that we now embrace as our own; some very new; some based on primitive cultures in our sense of that word; some already well advanced towards the transition to being industrialized countries. The countries in Latin America are among them. Brazil is a prime example. It's still very much a developing country in parts but also an industrialized country. The statistics on a country like India also often mask the fact that India is in fact one of leading industrialized countries of the world. It may be one of the poorer developing countries of the world but it is also on of the biggest and most dynamic industrial economics in the world. In Iran, where modernization is being rejected for the moment, there is a resurgence of traditional cultures and values. We still can't predict the results. But we can learn that people in the developing worlds value more than just material progress. Material progress is not the only name of the game.

Signals to Industry

Industry, as we have seen has learned more than any other institution in our society now to science and technology to cater to so many of our appetites (many of them unfortunately trivial) as well as to our real needs as the advances in the field of medicine and pharmacology. It's not really the fault of industry if it uses its innovative power, its capital and its management to produce things that we don't think are the right things. Industry gets its signals from us, from market place. And the market place is presumably a democratic place. If we want science and Technology and industry to meet our larger social needs and aspirations, then we must provide the appropriate signals and a system of incentives and penalties which will enable that tremendous power to be harnessed. There's no use beating the donkey. Let's just make sure it's properly harnessed and directed to do the work we want it to do. What we need is a new concept of management, a new role for those who manage. We need to conceive the role of management and managers more in terms of helping to manage the complex processes of societal decision-making and action by which we frame our common goals and reach those goals. "Societal" management is going to be the name of the game for managers.

New Global Systems of Governance

We all see the inadequacies of the United Nations in the present global systems of government. Essentially the inadequacies of the UN are products of the inadequacies of our own nation state system; the unwillingness of nation-states to shed the kind of power upstream to the international community that is objectively needed to deal with the increasing number of global issues which can only be dealt with at an extra-national level.

The European Common Market and the emerging role of the European Parliament within it is, of course, imperfect and has not yet outgrown the constraints of the nation-state system. Nevertheless, it is a powerful step forward and an example of how unity is slowly becoming possible, even in areas which have given rise to great conflict in the past. The global level must also be supported by a whole series of non-governmental and semi-governmental organization, and processes to facilitate information dissemination, understanding and consensus on which the formal system takes it decisions.

Nation-states must understand that their role is changing and we must understand the degree to which the nations on our behalf are showing resistance to these changes. Power inevitably has to be shed both upstream and downstream from the nation-states. Hence, the paradox of seeing more power move to the international level while we're also seeing more power flow to the local, regional, provincial, and state levels. What is happening, in America and Canada is not unique: the movement towards decentralization on the one hand and regionalizing and globalizdlion on the otherhand. Both these movements are inexorable. It is inevitable that they will weaken the central role of the nation state in the system of governance. It is also inevitable that such weakening will be resisted by nation-states -but not successfully in the final analysis.

People Participation Essential

In my view, a basic principle of governance is that every function in the public domain should be performed at the level closes to the people at which it can be performed effectively. Surely again we can learn from nature that the strongest biological systems are the tight, power concentrated cells and molecules and atoms. These are the power centres that make biblogical systems function and we really need to design our governance systems of this principle.

In the new society, participation will be the name of the game. Of course the 51 percent of the population who are women clearly must play a full role. I believe that the full participation by women in the processes of governance and the other processes by which our society is governed is absolutely indispensable and inevitable.

New, participation, let's face it, means slower decision making; slower decisions but better decisions, decisions that are more likely to stick, decisions that are more likely to be the kind of decisions that people will embrace and nurture as their own. If decisions are made right everybody will think they made them, and in fact everybody will have made them.

New Ethos

The mainstream institutions of society also must accommodate the spiritual needs and hungers of people. This cannot simply left to a few fringe institutions. I sense real spiritual hunger behind the apathy and frustration and uncertainly of the western industrialized world today. This is one of the reasons why I am rather optimistic.

I believe the recognition that even in sophisticated industrial societies and perhaps especially in those societies, we have a deep and unfulfilled longing for expression of the essential spiritual dimensions of the human experience. Surely we must acknowledge that the highest points in the human experience have come at those times when value systems accorded the highest regard to intellectual, cultural, philosophical and spiritual dimensions of human expression.

I'm a businessman and I have great respect for commerce. But we businessmen have to recognize that it was in the periods when the businessman was secondary that many of these great advances took place. He was always accorded a very high degree of respect, he was always necessary in society and will continue to be, but I believe we are moving out of the era where the commercial ethos which has powered our mighty industrial expansion is going to be the dominant ethos. It will continue to be a powerful and essential motivator-I don't knock it. But, objectively, we must move into a system where business (and economics) becomes a servant of society and not its master.

The spiritual dimension should indeed be central to our concepts of human growth and human evolution. This surely must be based on a rediscovery and new appreciation of that which is distinctive and valuable in the mainstream of human experience, which is today represented in large part by some of the indigenous cultures. One of the things that we have to recognize is that something like 80 percent of our evolutionary experience was as hunters and gatherers. That experience, which is an essential part of men's heritage and wisdom and insight. Is today in the custody of relatively small groups of indigenous people whose own lives are very much threatened. And this in turn is threatening one of the most precious heritages that is part of our total human experience. Now I'm not one of those who embraces all primitive cultures simplistically. Many of them are victims of ignorance and the lack of the kind of technological and intellectual insights that we now have. Nevertheless, they represent some very basic truths and values which we have to learn to appreciate and inculcate into our own future plans.

Indispensable Foundation For A Secure Future

The main issues for our future are security, fairness, and equity in a world system of governments which puts the total security package as the principle objective, and not simply the military hardware.

It is indeed an exciting time to live. What we do or don't do now will probably make a critical difference to the human future. And let us not be constrained in our visions of the future by the realities of today. I'm always confronted with how to reconcile these visions with practicality, with reality as

we perceive it today. But let us remember that just as yesterday heresies have now become today's conventional wisdom, today's impractical, impossible dreams can become tomorrow's realities.

I believe we are seeing a convergence of the physical and social worlds with the moral and the spiritual. The concepts of loving and caring and sharing which have characterized the value systems to which we all give at least lip service in one form of another, have long been seen by many in the industrialized world as simply frothy pious ideals that were divorced from the practical world-unrealistic.

But I submit that the evidence is that there is a, convergence of the objective necessity for a saner, more co-operative world based on helping each other meet our needs, preserve our essential security, and multiply our options for positive experience, with the principles of loving and caring and sharing. These are no longer pious ideals divorced from reality. They are the indispensable foundation on which the future security system for our small planet must now be based. And that has to be good news.

Maurice Strong is a Canadian-born international civil servant and business entrepreneur, presently he is Chairman of the International energy Development Corporation headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. This chapter is an adapter transcript of his Keynote Address at the closing Ceremony of the First Conference on the Future, Toronto, 1980.

CONCLUSION TOWARD A GLOBAL MIND

- Frank Feather and Rashmi Mayur

As indicated in our Introduction, we believe that we have moved from Marshall McLuhons 'global village' and are now living in a 'global cottage'.

In reading the diverse chapters of this book, you have seen that when you open the door on one issue of the "global cottage" you simultaneously cause draughty disturbance among a whole host of other issues. You have seen that all the inhabitants of this tiny mud-ball spiralling through space, our precious planet Earth, are living together in very close quarters. When one of our fellow inhabitants sneezes or goes to the bathroom, it is hard not to notice. When one of us wants to use the kitchen to prepare a meal, that person is taking food from our joint larder and is using some of our shared energy resources to cook the meal to perfection. We could go on...

It is abundantly clear that a pleasant life for all the residents of the "global cottage" will only ensue if we can learn to live together. Living together in Earth's small houses during the balance of this century and into the next obviously calls for a great deal of understanding of each others' viewpoints. This also calls upon us to have a better understanding of our "selves" and our place in the overall scheme of things.

If we are to succeed in working together- to keep our "global cottage" in order - we are going to have to learn to accept and celebrate differences as golden opportunities.

Goals, values and strategies of Modern Civilization

Need for goals:

Aurelio Peccei and Alexander King write, "If the ways of God are inscrutable, the path of man has become incomprehensible. Modern man, despite the wonderful body of knowledge and information that he has accumulated and the means to apply it, appears to be muddling a head as if he were blind or drugged, staggering from one crisis to another. It is increasingly evident that he is unsure where he is going or where he wants to go beyond the next few tentative steps. Yet he has received all sorts of signals that he is treading fields that are heavily mined and require through exploration and mapping."

The Modern Civilization:

By modem civilization we mean the West European civilization which colonized the world. Today we have liberal capitalism. Leninist Marxism as the two poles and in between various levels. But all of them have certain shared features. They are: 1) the ever increasing arms production, sales and use 2) ever increasing material standards of life 3) the increased use of energy 4) the continued degradation of the environment 5) unconcern about poor masses 6) self-interest and no global concern.

Another feature of the modern civilization is that the ruling elites of almost all the underdeveloped nations try to imitate it. At the present moment the world seems to have modern civilization as the most powerful factor with its two major sub-groupings liberal democratic capitalism and Leninist-Marxism and its variants. The alternative civilisation seems to be much less powerful, scattered and relatively unknown. The Gandhian model presents the viable alternative civilization but it is still to be applied on a wider scale.

A Comparative study of the three Great ISMS

Sl. No.	Specific features	Capitalism	Socialism	Gandhian Recognization
1)	Unemployment	Yes	No	No
2)	Poverty	Yes	No	No
3)	Recession/Depression	Yes	Yes/No	No
4)	Inflation	Yes	Yes/No	No
5)	Work-boredom	Yes	Yes/No	No

6)	Welfare State	Yes	Yes	No
7)	Exploitation	Yes	Yes/No	No
8)	Alienation	Yes	No	No
9)	Hierarchy	Yes	Yes	No
10)	Leadership	Yes	Yes	No
11)	Power oriented	Yes	Yes	No
12)	Authority	Yes	Yes	No
13)	Bigness	Yes	Yes	No
14)	Strikes	Yes	No	No
15)	Crime/Juvenile Delinquency	Yes	No	No
16)	Equality	No	No	Yes
17)	Ownership	Private absentee	State	Social Worker-Trust
18)	Decision making	Executives and Managers	Top-rulers Bureaucrats	Workers
19)	Planned Economy	No	Yes	Specific local No,
20)	Bureaucracy	Some	Yes	No
21)	Freedom	Yes (limited)	No	Yes
22)	Competition	Yes	No	cooperation.
23)	Consumer sovereignty	Yes	No	Yes
24)	Housing	High-cost	Low-cast	Low-cost No -cost
25)	Supply Demand	Yes	No	Yes
26)	Prices	Market	Artificial	Socially Justified
27)	Wages/Fees	Bargain	Regulated artificial	Socially - Justified
28)	Incentives	Yes	No	Yes-diverse

29)	Product diversification	Yes (limited)	No	Unlimited.
30)	Capital Fund	Yes	Yes	Yes
31)	Education	Classic	work oriented	Work-oriented life-oriented, classics
32)	Retirement programmes	Yes	Yes	Voluntary yes (Vanaprasta)
33)	Risk	Yes	No	Yes
34)	Taxes	High regressive	No	Low-prorgrammed
35)	Workers Responsibility	Small amount	Marginal	Full
36)	Worker fulfillment	Marginal	Marginal	Yes
37)	Worker participation	No	No	Yes
38)	Potential to arrest war Aparigraha Astheya	No	No	Yes

Unto this last:

"Whereas riches are a power like that of Electricity acting only through inequalities or negative of itself. The form of the rupee you have in your pocket depends wholly on the default of a guinea in your neighbour's pocket. If he did not want it, it would be of no use to you; the degree of power it possesses depends accurately upon the need or desires he has for it, and the act of making yourself rich in the ordinary, mercantile economists sense, is therefore equally and necessarily the act of keeping your neighbour poor".

1913 Phoenix Trust was converted into a public Trust:

"Many merchants parade individual freedom for their prescriptive title for exploitation" - Gandhi.

Aristotle's definition:

"Economics is the science which deals with wealth regarded as an instrument of noble and virtuous action".

But Economics degenerates into "Chromatics" when it is concerned with the accumulation of wealth for its own sake.

Ruskin was interested in full breathed bright-eyed. happy-hearted creatures.

Tolstoy in "What shall we do then" denounces Industrialism in the same manner as Gandhi denounces it in his Hind Swaraj. Marx also denounced Industrialism for the Technological unemployment. Industrial Reserve Army.

Gandhi denounced Machinery as an instrument for the purpose of concentrating power and riches in the hands of a few. He does not want arm chair or armed socialism.

Bread labour:

St.Paul: "If any would not work, neither should he eat". St.Augustine: "Labour is a means of perfection of Man". T.M. Bondereff Labour, "In the sweet of they Brow shall thou ear thy Bread".

Ancient Egyptian and Indian Economy, Economy of Roman Empire, Feudal Middle ages, even the Economy of the Church, the Mutt, and the Temple have been based on this separation of mental and physical labour, as a means of perpetuating slavery.

"Nonviolence cannot be sustained unless it is consciously linked to Body labour' - Gandhi.

"Coins are but a measure of labour performed".

"The State will be there to carry out of the will of the people not to dictate to them or force them to do its will Economic equality through love. That is not possible as long as I do not reduce myself to the level of the poor" - Harijan, 1946.

"My ideal is 'Equal distribution' but as far as I can see, it is not to be realised I therefore work for equitable distribution. This I seek to attain through khadder....In this sense Khadder leads to 'Swaraj'."

Planning:

I declared long ago that there are two fundamental faiths in this world - gite moksha "gnana " and "Karma".

Common to Capitalism and Marxism:

1. Development of man environmental development.

2. Therefore exploitation (development) of all natural resources must be the aim of planning.

3. Planning must end in larger profits.

4. By these methods standard of life must be raised.

5. i) These need a large concentration of money.

   ii) Control of production and distribution.

iii) Employment and unemployment.

iv) Transport and distribution.

v) World is small for children that might be borne; so control also.

vi) Unemployment is unavoidable.

vii) World Government.

viii) Physical force inevitable.

ix) Wars inevitable.

Gandhian Approach

1. Respect for life-the crow.
2. Development of Life and Nature, avoid waste, Man makes environment not a slave to it. Nature for man.
3. Full employment.
4. Standard of life and not standard of living.
5. Planning objects

   i) Removal of competition-development of man,

   ii) Provision of means for training and guiding.
6. Self-sufficient in basic needs.
7. Full employment.
8. Self-respect without charity or dole.

Obstacles

1. Centralization of production, wealth and power.
2. Ownership of wealth and means of production.
3. Money.
4. Slavery.
5. Interest.

6. Neglect of Health, sanitation, training tools, seeds and raw materials.

7. Vicarious living and conspicuous consumption.

8. Imperialism and consumerism, colonialism, decoity, robbery, crime, sex.

9. Incompetent Government.

Population: (If they grow at this rate-time taken for doubling itself)

0.25%	278	years
0.50%	139	"
1.00%	70	"
1.50%	47	"
2.00%	35	"
3.00%	23	"
4.00%.	16	"
7.00%	10	"
10.00%	7	"

We are living in a sick society:

If we look at our Development activities and its effect on the health of the overall society we are constrained to say that development results more in sickness than in health. More hospitals does not mean less sickness but more of it. More machines mean more repairs, more breakdowns, more accidents, and more loss. In short we live in a sick society. Thee world is sick; the Nation is sick; the State is sick; the people are sick; society is sick.

Item No.1 - Poverty:

About 50% of the country live below the officially ill defined poverty line, many of them in abject destitution. In America one in 3 blacks lives below poverty line. Here among us one in two is poor, Even many above the official poverty line cannot afford many basic necessities.

Item No.2 - Medical Care:

Millions of people lack even today the benefits of modem medical care. Incomes hardly provide enough to care of medical needs. Many families are either wiped out by sickness due to the high cost of medical expenses or due to lack of it. Our infant morality, still births and children's death is too

unconscionably high.

Our distorted sex ratio itself is an index of the deprivations that afflicts one half of society with sex as the ground for discrimination.

Item No.3 - Public expenditure:

Major political decisions are taken with very little public debate. Our ten point plans and twenty point plans, and our Mid-day meals, our relief to unemployed youth and employment schemes are good examples. Our hire purchase schemes and Lotteries.

Item No.4 - Secrecy:

Absolute secrecy pervades in the public sector economy. Decisions are taken in secret by business and Government in contrast to public professions and declarations. Many of the scandals beginning with the Krishna Menon Jeep scandal to the Antulay affairs and the entrenchment of Transnational companies in vital sectors of our economy and the rise and growth of indigenous monopolies.

Item No.5 - Private corporate Power:

Private corporations control the economic life of communities as well as the nations. These corporations without any pretence of consultation with either workers or consumers produce all sorts of gadgets for extravaganzes and promote and control consumption through massive advertising.

Item No.6 - Value system:

Our society is plagued by perverted values of consumerism of the well off, competition and vicarious living. Self-respect is widely defined in terms of financial status, owning a late model car stylish dress, a moped or two for the children or at least a brand-new cycle, in that order, Controlled by private profits for a few, the economy spews out products of affluence, waste and military and environmental destruction, while basic needs like food, clothing, health, housing, education transport and aesthetics go abegging for resources.

Item No.7 - Alienation:

People are getting more and more alienated from the communities from which they hail. Few of the people in general with whom an average intelligent observer comes into contact in the course of his day to day business, believe that our dominant institutions, public or private either would or could respond meaningfully to their immediate grievances, their long-range needs, or especially, their tastes, preferences and desires.

Item No.8 - Middle class:

Inflation has come to stay. It has become a means to window all our failures clothed in high costs. Indebtedness is a hallmark of status. Products of doubtful and failing standards are sent out

from dilapidated ram shackle factories. A non-leaking pen or a true spindle is a rarity. Our Motor car Bumpers are meant more for beauty than for an anticipated impact. Their financial security is as compromising as their health indemnity is uncertain.

Item No.9 - Race, Sex Religious and caste animosities:

Most of our interpersonal and institutional relationships are perverted by these dehumanizing traits. Attempts to change these basic social patterns strike at the foundations of our political economy.

Item No.10 - Surviellance:

Citizens who are potential and capable of leadership and competent officials are subject to several types of surveillance, incapacitating vendetta and programmes, Examples are many

Item No.11 - Defence and Debt-servicing:

Two thirds or our federal tax rupee goes to provide either for past, present, of future wars, borrowings, or production losses. Rs. 60 to 70 billion or more are spent on our armed forces annually including our internal security forces. The amounts almost to Rs.100/- per head of population per annum.

Item No.12 - Pollution:

Population and destruction of Nature and creating Environmental imbalances is a threat posed not only to human but also to all forms of life. One single source of toxin introduced into the atmosphere is lead. Lead in the atmosphere has increased by nearly 1000% in the past 40 years. Pollution of water sources has already let to the outbreak of one new disease after another ever since 1950 due to the growth of several types of toxic-resistant-strains of bacteria and their survival in very adverse environment, Epidemics have become endemic.

Plasticizers, used in plastic packaging, automobile seat covers toys, and many other common items, present a potential health hazard due to their recently discovered effects on cell growth. A possible clue to several carcinogens.

Item No.13 - New Technologies:

Specially in the post war years new production technologies have greatly increased the impact of our economy on the environment. In agriculture, textiles, auto mobiles production, packaging, and many other spheres of enterprises new non-degradable synthetic fibres replace natural ones. Non-renewable resources are used in place of renewable ones, and power consumptive processes replace power conserving ones. Most of our presently key non-renewable resources will have been virtually used up and will be prohibitively expensive within at most the next 50 years.

Item No.14 - Lack of community responsibility:

Mobility is restricted to the upper strata of society, and the under world. The bulk of Indian

Society is still largely immobile, confined to restricted areas. Few local issues get into the agenda of any of the upper echelons or any of the institutionalized discussion groups. Exploitation is becoming a way of life. Resource to violence and the gun and other armed forms of might is increasing. All these end up in the inhibition of growth of a community responsible to itself or responsive to its needs.

Aspects of alternative Healthy Society

1. Physical security:

Everyone has adequate food, clothing, shelter and health care. Each person's basic physical needs are met: and there is adequate production to meet these needs.

2. Equality:

There are neither the fabulously rich nor the distressingly poor. Social benefits, social services, and social costs are spread as evenly as possible to everyone, without distinctions based on race, sex, religion, caste, community or party.

3. Non-exploitation:

Personal income is based on an individual's work and needs, rather than on passive rights and ownership scripts.

4. Work:

There is opportunity to develop and express one's own skills, talents, thought and creativity. People are not alienated from their work, but take pride in it as a contributions to mutual social well-being.

5. Democracy:

People have the right and the opportunity to participate in making the decisions that affect them, whether in the community, the workplace, the larger society or the world. An important measure of new social and economic structures is whether those structures facilitates participation or inhibit it. Even in large structures consensus, rather than slim majorities, is sought.

6. Wholeness:

Spiritual well-being, personal growth, and loving relationships are valued more than material possession.

7. Community:

A desire for mutual well-being replaced the driving motive of profit maximization. Inter-personal and community co-operation take precedence over individualism and competition. People are valued as people rather then being categorized and put into hierarchies according to race, sex, class, age, religion or caste.

8. Freedom:

Freedom is defined as the right, not to exploit or oppress others, but to develop and communicate ideas, to change occupations, to worship and to organise for social purpose including fundamental change.

9. Conflict:

Conflict is accepted as a natural part of life. The prevailing style of dealing with conflict involves openness and direct communication between opposing points of view, in the spirit of seeking the Truth in the situation. Participants may precipitate in non-cooperation or accept self-suffering as a means of pressing for a just solution. The interest is to win people over, not to over them.

10. Ecological - harmony:

Humankind lives in balance with the natural environment and conservation of natural resources. There is a deep concern for the survival of future generations. Planned use of resources to serve human needs, got aggregate growth of output is sought. The different cultures of the world share techniques for minimising waste.

11. World as a single Community:

The needs and desires of the world community take precedence over national or local interest. People consider themselves world citizens, rather than national citizens. There is no political or economic domination, of one area of the world by another, instead all people enjoy equally the highest quality of life possible within the limitations of resources and environments.

"Was Gandhi an answer or a question?"

(Gandhi's answers to the central problem of modern man):

"Many people say that Gandhi was born before his time". It is either cynical or highly intellectual. Now after 50 years of his death these remarks seem to be true. Perhaps those judges of Gandhi wanted to say that Gandhi was irrelevant to his contemporary world. But the contrary is being proved by current events.

In a sense Gandhi's life was a tragedy just as Christ's was just as Tolstoy's was; just as Goutama the Buddha's was; just as Socrates's was. At a glance many of his missions seem to have been left unfulfilled. India's freedom was married by its partition and the out burst of violence which followed it. All constructive work seems to be resulting in just the reverse of what he hoped to achieve through it. Instead of peace and love they seem to exclude hated and turmoil. His closest colleagues seem to be sleep walking. The governments of the centre and states seem to be set on a course which will certainly not lead to a society based on love, tolerance, nonviolence, equality or peace. His teachings to be meant more for disobedience than for acceptance. The famous Gandhi-Nehru controversy looks almost as though has ended in the deliberate acceptance of the doubtful path to modernism, centralism, gigantism and militarism. Instead of spirituality, decentralization, and non-

violence of the brave. But with all this Gandhi's presence seems to be nagging the neo centrists. This is perhaps due to the fast deterioration in the over all human situation where seem to be no hope in any direction he looks. Gandhi having spoken some eternal Truths looks as if midge, refusing to be buried under any number of wealths avalanche of obituaries any number of pledges taken to be forgotten as soon as they are taken. No amount of window dressing is able to hide the nakedness of the Truths that are modern India and equally Modern World. The very facts of like make Gandhi more relevant than many a Cassandra. This is self-evident when we just think about the problems that a Non-Gandhian approach if not an anti Gandhian approach to the problems of mankind raise. These problems may for illustration be mentioned as:

1. The Problem of War
2. The Problem of deminishing resources natural and man-made and their unethical use and distribution.
3. The Problem of pollution.
4. The Problem of ecological imbalances.
5. The Problem of overpopulation.
6. The Problem of unemployment.
7. The Problem of disparities.
8. The Problem of gigantism, monopoly, and domination.
9. The Problem of alientation.
10. The Problem of power.
11. The Problem of poverty.

These are life problems having their spill over effects at the micro as well the macro level. These are if ignored dangers which may imperial humankind. Gandhi, seemed to have a key to all these problems.

Although a Global III War seems to have been avoided by the Global Giants out of their sheer will to survive, the world was not at peace during these 40 years. There had been as number of wars in different parts of the world all while. If they are counted close to 300 wars had taken place between nations at different intervals and between different nation the last 39 years after the Last World War. Any of them would have escalated into a world war engaging the whole planet and involving the Great Powers. They surely have damaged the Economy and Social Fabric of all these nations. One fact must not be ignored that all these bush wars were waged between poor, developing nations: and the weapons of war were manufactured and sold to them by the rich, advanced nations.

Gandhi was still alive when the first two nuclear bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Seeing the destruction that these monstrous weapons caused he had said, "There have

been cataclysmic changes in the world. Do I still adhere to my faith in Truth and Non-violence? Has not the atom bomb exploded that faith?" He had proceeded to answer the questions himself. He answered the question thus, "Not only has it not done so, but it has clearly demonstrated to me that the twins constitute the mightiest force in the world. Before it the Atom Bomb is of no effect. The two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one is infinitely superiqr to the other which by its very nature has no end. The force of the spirit is ever progressive and endless. Its full expression makes it unconquerable in the world. In saying this, I know, I have said nothing new. I merely bear witness to a fact. What is more, the force resides in everybody, man, woman and child irrespective of the colour of the skin. Only in many it is dormant, but it is capable of being awakened by judicious training."

"It is further to be observed that without the recognition of this Truth, and due effort to realize it, there is no escape from self destruction. The remedy lies in every individual training himself for self expression in every walk of life, irrespective of response by the neighbours".

He further observed so far, as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened, the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages. There used to be the so called laws of war which made it tolerable. Now we know the naked truth war knows no law expect that of might. The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the allied arms, but it resulted for the time being in destroying the Soul of Japan. What has happened to the soul of the destroying nations is yet too early to see.

Gandhi had issued a warning of doom to mankind but also reiterated his faith in nonviolence in these words.

"One thing is certain. If the mad race of armaments continues it is bound to result in a slaughter such as never occurred in history. If there is a victor left, the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications".

With the emergence of intercontinental missiles of far greater accuracy and destructiveness the terror of these weapon of mutual annihilation has multiplied a thousand fold and therefore the relevance of Gandhi has become a thousand time more. Perhaps there could have been some justifications for war when Gandhi was alive. But in the contemporary world war has become not only immoral but also irrational.

Parallel to this development there also has occurred another man made disaster also. The world has become small due to scientific developments and has become divided on another line also. Oneside of it has been richers unknown so far in human history and the other side so poor without precedent. As Bernard Baruch has aptly put it in his introduction to "Road to survival".

"We are face to face with a serious duplication of resource capital. More than one country is already bankrupt. Such bankruptcy had wiped out civilization in the past; there is no reason to think that we can escape the same fate under the same conditions, unless we change our ways".

Gandhi had shown how to change the ways long before "Road to Survival" was written. He had gone to the very root of the problem and shown that man's economy has to change from being that of exploitation into that of conservation. His idea about the system of Economy was to enable the largest concentration of population to be maintained on the soil indefinitely in health and reasonable comfort without damaging its fertility. Pyarelal, Gandhi's private secretary, has analysed Gandhi's system as follows:

1. Intensive small scale diversified farming as opposed to mechanised large scale, or collective farming the total yield as against yield per agricultural worker, being the highest under this system.

2. Development of cottage, village, and rural arts and crafts ancillary to agriculture.

3. Cattle based economy; with strict enforcement of the Law of return viz., to return to the soil in organic from what is taken away out of soil, without which the health of the soil and its fertility cannot be fully maintained.

4. Proper balance and relationship between plant, animal and human life be maintained; social health and stability being essentially the product of a symbiosis of the three; and

5. Voluntary production of both human and animal power against the competitions of machinery as the price of Social insurance against unpredictable causes.

But this was not in any way taken to mean that Gandhi in his enthusiasm for the village economy wanted to retain a poverty-sticken world. He has declared, "I see no poverty in the world of Tomorrow". No wars, no violent revolution, on blood shed. The world of tomorrow, according to Gandhi, will be, a society based on nonviolence. That is the first law, out of it all other blessings will follow. It may seem a distant goal, and impractical Utopia. But it is not in the least unobtainable, since it can be worked for here and new. An individual can adopt the way of life of the future the non-violent way without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can do it, why cannot a whole group of individuals? whole nations? Men often hesitate to make a beginning, because they feel that the objective cannot be achieved in its entirety. This attitude of mind is precisely out greatest obstacle to progress an obstacle that each man, if he only wills it, can clear away.

Equal distribution - the Second law of tomorrow, world as I see it grows out of non-violence. It implies not that the world's good shall be arbitrarily divided up, but that each man shall have the where-withal to supply his natural needs, no more.

One of the common misunderstanding about Gandhi has arisen out of the mistaken belief that he was sectarian in his thought and outlook. Far from it, as early as 1921 he had states, "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed, I want the cultures of all the Lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any, I refuse to live in other peoples' houses as an interloper a beggar or a slave".

It was this rare combination of openness with stead fastness that made Gandhi the man he was.

In fact his personality as well as his ideology was holistic. He did not separate economics and ethics into water tight compartments. In his own words:"The whole gamut of man's activities today constitute an indivisible whole. You cannot separate social, economic, political, and purely religious work into water tight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity".

According to Gandhi, the cause of the present day civilization resulting in the bankruptcy of economic resources lay in the cancer of unlimited wants. As he put it, "The ideal of creating an unlimited number of wants and satisfying them seems to be a delusion and a shame. The satisfaction of one's narrow self must meet at a certain point a dead stop, before it degenerates into physical and intellectual voluptuousness. A man must arrange his physical and cultural circumstances so that they do not hinder him in his service of humanity, on which all his energies should be concentrated". Earlier he has said, "I do not believe that multiplication of wants and the machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer its goal. I whole heartedly detest this mad desire to destroy time and distance to increase animals appetites and go to the ends of the earth is search of their satisfaction. If modern civilization, stands for all this, and I have understood it to do so, I call it satanic".

Modern civilization has brought man to the brink of suicide of a mass variety resulting from pollution and ecological imbalances. Not only is mother earth robbed of her riches, but the atmosphere is polluted by poisonous wastes of nuclear experiments and exhaust fumes of petrol, diesel and oil burnt from millions of combustion engines, and industrial waste products dumped into rivers, lakhs and oceans.

"I find that the simple life is better than the complex in that they find time to devote attention to bigger pursuits".

Earlier in a speech in India he stated... "the ours is chiefly occupied in exploring spiritual law. Our shastras lay down unequivocally that proper observance of truth, chastity, scrupulous regard for all life, abstention from coveting others' possession and refusal to have anything but what is necessary for our daily wants is indispensable for right life; that without a knowledge of the divine element it is an impossibility".

Gandhi's love for nature made his ideas the very antidote to the problems of pollution. He adored nature. I have seen him shifting his bed from under the open sky to his but twice during a night in the rainy season to get some fresh air.

The problems of over-population, unemployment and disparity of the wealth were his prime concerns. It was because of these that he thought of the charkha in 1907 when he had not even seen one, Boyd-Orr, the world renowned scientist has said, "There are economic and cultural factors apart from diet which affect birth rate. There is however, little doubt that the only real or effective method of birth-control is to improve diet, to raise the standard of living and education of the nations with high birthrate to that of or below the birthrate once as high as that of any nation, has fallen to or below the replacement level".

And Gandhi's method of raising the standard of living was to give the means of production to the masses instead of mass production by one Industrialist. "You cannot build non-violence on factory civilization, but it can be built on self contained village. Rural economy, as I have conceived it, eschews exploitation altogether and exploitation is the essence of violence".

This is the logic that leads Gandhi to decentralization which provides the answer to the modem problem of concentration of power both in Economic and Politics,

Let Gandhi himself speak, "I believe that independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed, pushed on us based on us by mammon worship. All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly".

"Man falls from the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the moment he wants to multiply his daily wants. History gives ample proof of this Man's happiness really lies in contentment. He who is dicontented, however, much he possesses, becomes a slave to his desire. Hence, I suggest that if India is to evolve along non-violent lines it will have to decentralise many things. Centralization cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force. Simple homes from which there is nothing to take way require on policing; the palaces of the rich must have strong guards to protect them against decoity. So must huge factories. Rurally organized India will run less risk of foreign invasion than urbanised India, well equipped with military, naval and air forces".

Society based on nonviolence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. A Society which anticipates and provides for meeting, violence with violence will either lead a precarious life or create big cities and magazines for defeat purposes. "Centralisation is a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of Society". His model of society therefore was not that of a pyramid.

"In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle, whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for that village, the villages ready to perish for the circle of villages till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance, but ever humble, sharing the majority of the Oceanic circle of which they are integral units.

Therefore the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it. It may be taunted with thee retort that this is all Utopian and therefore, not worth a single thought. If Euclides point, though incapable of being drawn by human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for humankind to live. Let India live for this true picture, though never realizable in its completeness. We must have a proper picture, of what we want, before we can have something approaching it. If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India then I claim verity for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or, in other word on one is to be the first and none the last".

Gandhi's idea of independence was very different from a centralised society.

"Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus every village will be republic or panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affair even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world, it will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from without. Thus, ultimately, it is the individual who is the unit. This does not exclude dependence on willing help from neighbours or from the world. It will be free and voluntary play of mutual forces. Such a society is necessary, highly cultured in which every man and woman knows that no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour."

"I must dissent from the view that the core of planning is centralization. What should not decentralization lend itself of planning as well as centralization".

One of the worst results of a centralized society is the alienation of human mind ending in a split personality. The man acting as mere cog in the large machinery of centralism feels himself alienated from his world and from himself. A servant in a bureaucracy or in a dictatorship or a citizen tossed about from place to place in a Capitalistic Society or a "mechanical" worker in a communist state, are examples of this alientation. This type of wide spread alienation results in suicides, alcoholism, rape, crime, accidents, and a number of other ills of the contemporary world.

To Gandhi the end to be sought is human happiness combined with full mental and moral growth. I use the moral synonymous with spiritual. This end can be achieved under decentralization. Centralization as a system is inconsistent with a non-violent-structure of society.

The answer Gandhi gave to the problem of alienation lay in his educational philosophy, which strove to bring forth the best in the child's personality by giving him opportunities of using his hands, by giving him complete freedom, love, self-expression.

Twenty five years after Gandhi's death, experts of the UNESCO came to the same conclusion in their report based on the study of the educational patterns of a score and more countries. Their findings can be summarized in the following quotation from Gandhi.

"The ancient aphorism that education is that which liberates" is true today as it was before. Education here does not mean mere spiritual knowledge nor does liberation signify only spiritual liberation after death. Knowledge includes all training that is useful for the service of mankind and liberation means freedom for all manner of servitude, even in the present life. Servitude is of two kinds. Slavery to domination from outside and to one's own artificial needs. The knowledge acquired in the pursuit of this ideal alone constitutes true study".

Now let us quote a key passage from Kenneth Boulding:

WE NOW HAVE AN UNPRECEDENTEDLY WIDE RANGE OF POSSIBLE FUTURES

From wherever we stand we look into the future as great fans of different possibilities of varying

degrees of likelihood. It has a daily, weekly, seasonal, and annual rhythm, and for most or us tomorrow, if it is another weekday, it will be very much like today. There is always some probability, however, that tomorrow will be very different from today. We may be in the hospital, or even dead, as a result of a heart attack or an automobile accident. This is the impersonal world exercising its power over us. Or we may be fired from our job, in which case the future is subject to the power of our boss or employer. Or we may decide to quit, in which case we would be exercising power ourselves.

The planet itself might also be a fan of possible futures, some of which depend on decisions that are in part the result of past decisions, some of which are quite independent of human decisions. We can predict things over which we have no power, like the movement of the planets or eclipses. Some things we cannot predict exactly but we can predict within them a well assigned limit, for instance, that tomorrow we will all be one day older or dead. Aging is a process over which we have very little control, although we can make small decisions about it in regard to diet, smoking, other bad habits or good habits, and so on. The probability of any adult being alive 100 years from now can be put pretty safely close to zero, although we cannot be quite sure what the biological sciences will come up with in the way of postponing aging. The decisions made today can certainly be ranked, at least hypothetically, in the order of the degree to which they will affect the future. Some will affect it very little; some may affect it a great deal, depending on the nature and the effectiveness of the power that decision makers have over the future. In the course of societal evolution the distribution of power changes, and also the powerfulness of different forms of power may change. We may indeed be in a period now when profound changes in the distribution and forms of power are going on, although these changes may not be visible at the moment. We have to recognize, however, that this is a very remarkable period in the history of this planet. Thanks to the evolution of the human race not only has the rate of evolutionary change increased enormously but, as a result of this, the range of possible futures has expanded beyond anything the world has ever known before. At all previous times the relevant range of possible futures has looked very much like the present. There have been occasional catastrophes, suggested by the transitions between the various geological periods, but even these may heave happened quite slowly by human standards.

FIVE POSSIBLE FUTURES

Now the evolutionary process on earth faces an extremely wide range of possible futures, even over the next 100 years or so. At one end of the scale we have irrecoverable nuclear catastrophe, in which most of the existing nuclear weapons would be exploded, and the whole surface of the earth and the atmosphere would be polluted with radioactive elements that would be fatal to large numbers of species. Whether there will be a "nuclear winter" is some what in doubts, but it is at least possible. And if any human beings remain, as they may in remote parts of the world, they would face a planet much more hostile to life and to human welfare than it has ever been before.

Next on the scale would be a recoverable nuclear war. The United states and the Soviet Union would lose some major cities, and much of their knowledge able populations, but the knowledge structure of the human race would survive in libraries and in institutions of learning in distant places,

and the earth would gradually be repopulated and rebuilt. As we have seen, the productive power of the human mind is much greater than its destructive power. If its destructive power is not fatal, what sort of world would emerge, of course, no one can predict. It would be a little surprising if the institutions that produced the catastrophe would be revived.

A third possible future might be described as a browning of the world. We would avoid nuclear war, but the population explosion would continue, the ozone loss would continue, climate changes would be for the worse, the using up of exhaustible resources would continue apace, human knowledge would not catch up with the problems that it would have to face, famine and impoverishment would wrack the world, productive power would father, we would fall back into a world of increasing poverty, which perhaps would stabilize out at a level far below what, say, 25 percent to 50 percent of the human race enjoy now in terms of riches. The might lead to increasing war and strife, which would accentuate the decline even further.

A fourth possibility would be that things do not get much worse, at least over the next 100 years or so. Nuclear war would be avoided; conventional war would be localized, with perhaps a few more Iran-Irag catastrophes on a local scale; and human knowledge would move in the direction of increasing economy in the use of energy, materials, and exhaustible resources and the development of less exhaustible resources with increased use of solar energy, recycling, and so on. Climatic, worsening would be checked. The political system would stabilize out, with a few changes here and there, some for the better, some for the worse; no great new disturbing ideologies would appear, and so on.

A fifth possible future, the probability of which is hard to assess-but it is certainly note zero- is that we would move over the next century, or the next few centuries, into a world that is by all reasonable standards better than the one we have now in terms of human welfare: War would be eradicated, as slavery and dueling were virtually ended. The 7 percent or so of the world economy now devoted to the war industry would be devoted to investment both in education and in the infrastructure and the capital required to increase human productivity; and poverty would diminish sharply all over the world. The expectation of life would continue to increase, infant mortality and premature death would be sharply reduced, birth rates would fall correspondingly to the point where the human population stabilizes at a manageable level, whatever that may be. All the arts would be widely practiced and enjoyed, people would enjoy their lives, death would come at the right time and would not be presented, although grief would continue as an important part of the human experience. The untapped reserves of the human mind would be continually expanded, power would be exercised with increasing wisdom, institutions for preventing the pathologies of power would be strengthened. Even if this future has a probability of only 10 percent, it is worth the effort.

WHAT EXERCISE OF POWER WILL INCREASE THE PROBABILITY OF BETTER FUTURES?

A critical question arises, therefore: The exercise of what kind of power and by whom will increase the probability of better futures and diminish the probability of worse ones?

We start with destructive power. In all three evolutionary phases, as we have seen, destructive power is sometimes related favorably to productive power, as in the formation of novas and perhaps

in ecological catastrophes in biological evolution that open up new niches for more complex organisms. A limited destructive power is also the basis of the food chain. In social systems limited destructive power is a component of predictive power, for instance, in hunting and even in gathering, in cutting down trees, in slaughtering livestock, and even in the harvesting of crops. Destructive power is exercised even on a carrot pulled from the ground. Destructive power here is linked very closely with the productive system of which it is a part. It is quite meaningless by itself, although there may be examples of this, like fox hunting, where the method and the paraphernalia of destruction become ends in themselves. Destructive power also becomes significant in the destruction of pests, viruses, and bacteria that cause disease. All production indeed involves what might be called "destructive transformation," like wheat being ground into flour baked into bread.

The use of destructive power in threat systems, as with criminal justice, police, and punishments, may also contribute to productive power, perhaps more frequently directed toward the reduction of other destructive power through deterrence. If there were no traffic Police, there might be more arson and murders. Theft, which might be looked upon as illegitimate redistribution, also has destructive aspects in its effect on the victims psychological sense of security. As we look at the future, these positive forms of destructive power are certainly likely to persist, and decisions about them may even increase the probability of a better world, although there are some legitimate doubts about the criminal justice system. Over the last 50 years the increase in police and in crime seem to have gone hand in hand and it could well be that decisions to develop new approaches to criminality, through identifying actual and potential criminal subcultures and intervening in them, could very well pay off better than the system we have now. Certainly a decision to put a major research effort into this problem would be likely to pay off well in the future.

THE FUTURE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

The greatest problem of the future, of course, is the system of so-called national defense and the existence of unilateral national defense organizations, like the US. Department of Defense and its counterparts in other countries. Here we have developed an enormous, potential power of destruction, particularly in the nuclear powers. The question seldom raised is this: What kind of power does this give us, especially for the future? As noted earlier, there are two general excuses for the possession of military destructive power conquest and deterrence.

Conquest is often legitimated by the contention that the conquering culture is more productive than the conquered one and there may have been some examples of this or justified by the conquerors by the assumption that the conquered are an inferior people anyway something that is much, harder to justify in view of the relative genetic homogeneity of the human race. As we look at the future, conquest seems very unlikely on any large scale. In the last 40 years or so the United States has been able to conquer Grenada, and Great Britain, the Falkland Islands, but at great expense, will a remarkably low rate of return. The American conquest of Japan produced a virtually independent and highly prosperous Japan, with a remarkable rate of economic development, as did the conquest of West Germany. The Soviet conquest of East European countries produced a little tribute in the early days, but has certainly done the Soviets very little good in recent years. Empire, as we have seen,

is an economic drain on the imperial powers. This is almost certainly true of the Soviet Union and China. The only major conquest since World War II has been the formation of the state of Israel, the future of which over the next 100 years is certainly in doubt.

The other common justification for the war industry is, of course defense or deterrence. As we have seen earlier, deterrence can be stable in the short run, as we see nuclear deterrence has been, but it can be shown that it cannot be stable in the long run, that it must have a positive probability of breaking down. Historically it has always broken down into war. The existing system of national defense, therefore, gives us a positive probability of nuclear war, and if the system says as it is, in X years it will happen, and our first or second future will be realized. A critical decision for the future, therefore, is to develop the power to get rid of unilateral national defense. This is something that is pretty much in the power of the national states. The power of national states, however, depends to a greater or lesser degree on the consent of the citizens. If this is withdrawn the power of the rules of national states can crumble, as Louis XVI of France and Czar Nicholas II of Russia certainly discovered. The national state certainly exercises a threat system over its citizens, as we see in taxation and conscription- which is a kind of taxation in the form of temporary slavery. If the cost to the national state becomes too great, and especially if it loses integrative power, both destructive and threat power become ineffective. Being a great power is a great nothing, as the powerlessness of the United States in Vietnam and of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan demonstrates very clearly, and as the economic success of the old European imperial powers and Japan since the virtual abandonment of empire also demonstrates. The decision to abandon national defense as a means of national security may seem a long way of; but the example of Costa Rica suggests that it is not impossible.

There may be stages along way. All military organizations contain human beings who have minds that are capable of recognizing erroneous vies of the world and the future. When these errors become very apparent, an increasing interest among the world military in what has been called "defensive defense", that is, organizations and the means of destruction that are not a threat to anybody else, although they are a counter-threat to other people's threats, becomes a real possibility for the future. The would also involve a strictly limited response strategy to the exercise of other people's destructive powers, a stricter "tit for tat", which, as game theory suggests,' is most likely to lead into cooperative solutions. That is, if the military can come to see that in the interest of genuine national security the concept of victory must be abandoned, popular as it has been for so long, and that any use of destructive power must be evaluated by its long run impact on productive power. As noted earlier, the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars"), foolish as it is, is an implicit recognition that national defense has broken down as an institution, and one hopes that the Gorbachev-Reagan Agreement of 1988 is a foretaste of the future.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY

When it comes to the world economy, the future certainly looks less dramatic, than that of nuclear war, but there are also many uncertainties and great inadequacies in the overall decision structure, and profound uncertainties, and indeed ignorance, as to how the total system operates. Here, as usual, the past asks us some embarrassing questions. Can we over come the stability of

what might be called the "poverty subcultures?" Could we have another great Depression in the capitalist world, or even another collectivization catastrophe in the Communist world? Is there a basic instability of capitalism as it approaches a stationary state? It is clear that economic great cannot go on forever. There must come some point at which what might be called the "carrying capacity" for riches of the earth's system is reached, although this may still be some way off. Are there positive feedback processes that get out of control, of which the Great Depression a good example? The present international debt situation is, at least a cloud hanging over us. The critical questions here is this: What are the limits to power governments, especially as there are now something close to 200 governments around the world, to regular even their domestic economies in a world economy that is becoming increasingly a single system? I have serious doubts as to how much governments have the power to correct defects even in their domestic economics and still greater doubt about their capacity to correct defects in the world economy, as there is no world government.

The one problem here that is very hard to deal with might be described as the existence of "offsetting power", the exercise of power on the part of private persons and organizations, which offsets the exercise of power by a central government. There is a great debate at the moment in the economics community about this. The power of governments to affect both their own national economics and the world economy is not easy to assess. This assessment is particularly difficult in a country like the United States, where economic policy bears some resemblance to a carriage with a horse at both ends, the Federal Reserve at one end and the treasury Department and Congress at the other, whose activities are not easy to coordinate. The division of power, especially between the president and Congress, and the very complex process by which political ideas eventually get embodied in legislation the way in which these ideas get modified by what is believed to be the nature of predominant public opinion, and the degree to which potential power is exercised, may be much more significant and variable that the potential power itself.

Most economists would agree the ' 'ted States federal government, through its various branches, potentially had the power to pr nt the Great Depression of 1929-1933. At that time, however, nobody in government knew what was going on or what to do about it. If in those years the government had run a large budget deficit financed by interest free money, as they had done, for instance, in the Civil War of 1861-1865, there is little doubt that household spending would have increased, unsold inventories would have diminished, interest rates would have declined, the deflation might have been averted, and unemployment would certainly not have gone to 25 percent. Again, however, the upturn under President Roosevelt from 1933 to 1937 had little to do with the economic policy of government itself. It was mainly the result of a spontaneous increase in gross private domestic investment. Even though Roosevelt-the Democrat-was presumably less favorable to business than Hoover - the Republican - the revival could well have happened even if Hoover had been reelected.

THE WORLD AS A TOTAL SYSTEM WITH NOBODY IN CHARGE

As we look at the future of the world, the question of how the people of the world can develop institutions that exercise power over the world as a total system becomes of increasing importance.

Certainly in the twentieth century the world has become much more of a total system as far as the human race is concerned than it ever was before. This was especially true after World War II. The volume of international trade increased more than six times between about 1950 and 1980. The amount of human travel has increased at least 10 times in this period, thanks to the development of air travel. The world financial and commodity markets have become increasingly a single market, with the tremendous expansion of communication. It is hard to quantify the increase in the world network of communication. Certainly thanks to satellites and other developments, it has increased many times in the twentieth century. The world religions, while they are still strongly localized in particular areas, have become much more widespread, partly thanks to migrations. There are now mosques in Broadford in Yorkshire, England, and in Melbourne, Australia, a Buddhist college in Boulder, Colorado; and a beautiful modern catholic cathedral in Tokyo.

The rise of international nongovernmental organizations has been spectacular, from a mere handful in the nineteenth century to over 18,000 today. These cover virtually all fields of human life-science, religion, politics, sport. This is perhaps one of the most spectacular developments of the twentieth century, although it has happened so quietly that it is seldom noticed. Then, of course, we do have the Untied Nations and the 200 or so international governmental organizations, like UNESCO and the World Health Organization, which have exercised a considerable amount of power. The World Health Organization, for instance, has virtually eliminated smallpox and contributed to the substantial decline in infant mortality all over the world. Even the worldwide spread of restaurants with regional cuisines is spectacular. This began perhaps with the Chinese restaurants in Europe and in America. Now Japanese, Indian, Thai, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Greek and American fast-food restaurants are common in cities all around the world. In university life one has seen a considerable erosion of the concept of the exotic. At Oxford even in the 1920s Latin and Greek were-still "greats" anybody who wanted to study Arabic or Japanese would have been regarded as rather peculiar. Today even though English has become a lingua franca in the world Scientific, business, and tourist communities, somewhat to the dismay of the French, nevertheless a knowledge of Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, and so on has become an increasing asset in the business community and French and Spanish continue to be basic languages in many part of the world.

The socialist countries have been somewhat isolated, but even this situation is breaking down. They are even taking to the blue jeans and rock music of the world youth culture, and are opening up world trade. A few countries have tried to isolate themselves from what I have called the world "superculture" of automobiles sky scrapers, telephones, television, movies, computers, and so on, such as Burma and Albania, somewhat as Japan isolated itself from the world in the Tokugawa period. There may be a case for a period of isolation where the superculture threatens the integrity of ancient cultures and societies. There are strong signs that this isolation is now breaking down in Burma.

The scientific community is particularly visible as a world subculture. I doubt if there is any country in the world that does not have a classroom with a periodic table of chemical elements in it. There is no such thing as Christian, Islamic, Buddhist, or Communist, chemistry, or even biology, after the disaster of Lysenko under Stalin in the Soviet Union, which threatened to destroy genetics there for a whole generation, although now it has come back. The social sciences may show a little more

variety, but Chinese, Soviet, of Polish economics are probably not very different from those in other parts of the world.

What does all this suggest for the future? There are many people who think that the development of a single world economy, a single world science, and increasingly a single world technology and the terrible danger of unilateral national defense have, created a situation on which there is a desperate need for a world government and a world constitution. A parallel is often drawn between the present United Nations organization and the Articles of Confederation of the United States, which were replaced by the formation of the federal government and the US Constitution. No one can question, indeed the need for a world political organization. But what form it should take is a matter of some debate. The main concern of national states has been national defense against external enemies. A world government would only have internal enemies, which is a very different situation.

Further more with all the movement toward a total world system, the world is still extremely heterogeneous-in language, culture, religion, political structure, and economic structure. The world may be moving toward becoming a total system, but it is still a very long way from being a total society. The world is not an organism, but an ecosystem with a very large number of different cultures, peoples, and social species: Some geographically concentrated like the Basques, the Welsh or the Navajo, some scattered around the world like the Soka Gokkai or the Marxists or Jehovah's Witnesses, some occupationally oriented, like wheat farmers, tin miners; some defined by an academic discipline, like physicists or economists. Then there are races, which are quite hard to define and cut across nearly all the other divisions, so that the differences and conflict within each race are probably greater than the conflict between the races. The same would be true of class. In no sense do the workers of the world unite, not even in the international labour Office-nor do the capitalists unite, nor do the religions. The diversity within each world religion is probably greater than the conflicts between them, as we see in the case of Iran and Irag. After all, the two world wars of this century were mainly between nominally Christian countries, and the conflicts and differences within the Communist world are probably just as great as the differences between the Communist and the capitalist worlds, which also are extremely diverse. Sweden is probably more different in its economic and social structure from Chile than It is from Hungary or Hungary more different from Rumania and Albania than it is from Sweden. It is real question, therefore, as to whether a world state, if we had one, would not look something like South Africa. South Africa is a "nonsociety" that has atleast 12 different groups within it each with a strong identity, and often strong dislikes for the other groups. So that it has developed a "ruling tribe" in the Afrikaners, which has brought world disapproval upon it, critical of the policy of apartheid and the denial of equal political rights in the great majority of its inhabitants. It is ironic that the United States might by sheer threat have created a world state, in the brief interval when it had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. This state might have looked distressingly like South Africa, with the Americans playing the role of the Afrikaners and threatening to drop a nuclear weapon on anyone who objected. The United States would certainly not have wanted to invite everybody to send representatives to the US. Congress, where the Americans would immediately have been outvoted spectacularly.

There is certainly very little chance that the United Nations will be developed into a world state of this kind for its threat power is extremely weak. It cannot even tax it can only collect funds from the constituent nations by their own consent. When the United States, for instances, refuses to pay its contribution, there is not much that the United Nations can do about it. It has what might be described as a withered military arm, a group of officers who meet every so often, the only business being the date of the next meeting. The United Nations also has very little economic power, as it owns very little property. All it has in effect is integrative power, the power of legitimacy derived from the future, as the pope has integrative power derived from the past. In the early days, this was exercised somewhat in legitimating other people's military activity in the name of the United Nations. The most spectacular and about the only-example, of course, was the Korean War. The UN forces ("soldiers without enemies") in Cyprus and in the Middle East, and to a lesser extent in Zaire, had a very real impact in preserving the precarious peace in these areas. Unfortunately the continuing sabotage of the United Nations by the United States has crippled this function, although it still continues in the Middle East.

The Constitution of the Untied Nations presents very real problems and is very hard to change. The Security Council represents the 'great power' structure of 1945, which is increasingly obsolete. The Assembly gives equal votes to each of the member nations, with the exception of the Soviet Union, which insisted on having three votes. But in a situation where the tiniest country, like the Maldive Islands, has one vote, and China, India, and the United States have only one vote each, it is not surprising that such an institution loses integrative power and it not regarded as legitimate by those who are so grossly under represented either in terms of population or in terms of contribution. There are several proposals around for reform of the United Nations Constitution.[2] But short of a major world crisis, it is hard to see how the Untied Nations itself, with its present constitution, would vote for it, unless the large countries took a very determined stand together. This would take leadership of a type that at the moment does not seem to exist perhaps Mr. Gorbachev could take this role.

There may be more hope in the development of well-supported international governmental organizations, some of which, as noted earlier, have done a remarkable job in the face of rather limited resources. The climatic crisis that is creeping up on the world in terms of the "green house effect" and the ozone layer may force the development of an agency in this area, with greater powers than existing agencies. The atmosphere is a total world system. It pays no attention whatever to the 49th parallel or the Iron Curtain and rolls around the world in a single system. The oceans are not quite a single system, but close to it. The Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian oceans behave some what differently even though there are connected. The Law of the Sea convention, which the Untied States has persistently sabotaged, was one important step in the direction of what might be called "specific and limited world government". And the fact that it was negotiated after 10 years of deliberation suggests that something like this can at least happen. Certainly a different attitude on the part of the US Government toward the Untied Nations would make an enormous difference to the world and could set us off on a process with world political organizations devoted to specific problems, which perhaps is all we really need. Even South Africa may be moving a little bit in this direction.

A very critical question is this. How can the integrative power of the United Nations be increased? It is a question that is very rarely asked, and merely asking it may move the world in the right direction. The United Nations is very weak on ceremony and on integrative communications. Suppose, for instance, to let fantasy fly in where common sense fears to treat, that the United Nations sponsored a "pledge of allegiance", a personal treaty, which individuals would write for themselves, which would not diminish their legitimate affection for their own countries but would recognize the existence of the human race as an incipient society, with this beautiful planet that we have now seen from outer space as an object of love and allegiance. Chapters of these world citizens could be developed all over the world, they could have rituals and symbols, like the bumper sticker on a car that shows a picture of the planet from space, accompanied by one word "NATIVE". The anniversary date of the founding of the United Nations (October 24) would be celebrated as a world holiday. We might develop children's organizations for world citizenship, something like the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts-one can also think of a great many other possibilities. What holds us up here is the inability of people to recognize that integrative power is a power in its own right and ultimately the most important power.

Integrative power alone, of course, is not enough. The beggar has practically nothing but integrative power, derived from the pity that his or her condition arouses. It might keep him or her alive, but it is unlikely to lead to a very good life. The person with a good job has both integrative and economic power. Even here the integrative power in a sense is dominant. If the person loses the respect of his or her employer and fellow workers, the loss of the job is likely to follow. There is a complex integration here, because having the job may increase the respect integrative and economic power support each other. And we all know that even in a job relationship there may be subtle elements of threat.

For a world organization also, integrative power is not enough. The power to take always implies a certain degree of threat and destructive power, although. If this is not legitimated, it will not be effective. If the United Nations had economic power in the form of an endowment, this might increase its integrative power, but such an endowment could only come about through a recognition of integrative power. There is also the problem of the use of threat in the form of sanctions. This is an important aspect of law. Situations can arise in which the behavior of an individual or an individual nation may imperil the world community. Under these circumstances, legitimated sanctions have a place, although there is a constant problem of the method by which these are legitimated. The ideal situation is where sanctions are regarded as legitimate by the person or nation against whom they are applied.

Integrate power, then, involves bringing the dissident back into the community again. Sanctions alone, threat alone, will not do this. Here again, unless threat is allied with integrative power, which it often destroys, it will be ineffective. A wide recognition of the importance of me interrelationship of these three forms of power, therefore, seems to be necessary if we are to move toward the kind of world political organization that will be able to handle the problems that involve the world as a total system. Such an organization must avoid interfering with those problems that are essentially local or individual. It must develop institutions that will protect against the perverse use of power,

especially threat power, and the danger of tyranny. If we think of power merely in terms of threat power. we will get nowhere. A widespread recognition of the complexity of the power relationship, particularly the great importance of integrative power, is a necessary step toward the development of a world that can make decisions and good decisions about world systems, and at the same time preserve a wide distribution of power among groups, nations, and individuals to deal with those problems that are essentially individual or local. The stick, the carrot, and the hug may all be necessary, but the greatest of these is the hug.

Kenneth Boulding's conclusion needs to be modified in the nuclear age. With ever increasing weapons of mass destruction, violence needs to be replaced. Only through love and compassion, peace with justice and order and prosperity, humanity can reach to new heights.

Mahatma Gandhi saw "the kingdom of God" (Ramarajya - Sarvodaya civilization) should be established "brick by brick." He was an optimist and believed in a "golden future" for humanity. But that will come only through right action, giving up wrong action and reconciling with the consequences of bad actions.

Gandhi was a joyful person though there was an eternal deep sorrow in him. He was joyful because we have "some light, life, love and truth". He was deeply pained because there is darkness, untruth, death and violence. The latter does not stop him. He with determination tried to do his best to march ahead to greater life, love, light and truth. It is quite possible that we can make progress and we can also take humanity with us in our new evolution which has no parallel till now.

Notes:

1. Robert Axelod, The Evolution of Cooperation (New York Base Books, 1984)

2. "The Case for the Binding Triad. The World Needs a Way to Make Up its Mind" a videotape produced by the Center for War/Peace Studies, Richard Hudson, Executive Director (New York, 1987), is also being produced as a television documentary. Information on the proposal is available from the center in several of its special reports 218 E,18th Street, New York, NY 10038).

LESSON 19 - 25

NON-VIOLENT CHILD UPLIFTING - ...... - GANDHI'S INSIGHTS

GANDHIAN LIBERATION TECHNIQUES

K. Muniyandi

Ethical Politics:

Mahatma Gandhi is the Father of our Nation. He was mainly responsible for the liberation of our country from the foreign yoke. He was a very unique personality in that he stressed upon moral and ethical measures in politics. He helped us in achieving our freedom through his principles based upon Satya and Ahimsa. Let us therefore analyse and find out his liberation techniques for enlightening the present and future generations.

Disparities to Go :

The present day world is a bundle of inconsistencies. It inhabits very poor people as well as highly rich ones. There are millions and millions of illiterates as against a few motivated literates. A vast majority of our people are landless and unemployed white a small portion of our population holds key posts exercising their unlimited influence on others. Religion essential for uniting the people has now-a-days become the very source of separation of the individuals. Instead of finding unity in diversity we are dividing humanity under various heads. Our education system has produced numberless unemployables adding to the miseries of our nation. The so called intellectuals and the wealthy are exploiting the hapless people with an axe to grind. It is evident that unless these disparities are removed from the human society we cannot enjoy the fruits of our liberation.

Truth, A Component of Liberation :

Gandhiji was a man of Truth. In his ardent desire to see God face to face he discovered early that God is Truth. When he seriously thought over this statement, he noticed that there was a flaw in it. For truth will only be one of the qualities of God as Love, Mercy, Omnipotence, Omnipresence etc. So by 1926 he began to believe that Truth is God. While returning from the Second Round Table Conference from England at the fag end of 1931, he openly asserted to the world in the villa of Romain Rolland that Truth alone is God. This made him go to the roots of any problem before adhering to his Satyagraha for solving it amicably. Even as a successful lawyer in South Africa he would refrain from pleading the cause of his untruthful clients. Rajkumar Shukla of Bihar could not make Gandhiji present the case of the Indigo Cultivators in the Lucknow Congress. In fact Gandhiji started his Champaran Satyagraha only when he was convinced in person that there was truth in his representation that the White planters were exploiting the ignorant farmers to the hilt. We can quote any number of such instances from his life that he undertook his movements on the solid basis of Truth. Thus the greatest weapon he had bequeathed to the humanity in the name of satyagraha was nothing but Soul Force or Truth Force.

Non-Violent Technique :

In his continuous experiments with truth Gandhiji arrived at Ahimsa or Universal Love. He found out that the only way of realising truth is through Ahimsa. When a press reporter in South Africa asked him a point blank question about his preference between Ahimsa and Satya, he categorically announced, "I will cast away Ahimsa to the winds and cling to Truth". The sum and substance of this assertion is that Truth, the God, is eternal and that it can be reached only through Ahimsa which is but a part and parcel of it. He, therefore, was very particular about the means we adopt in carrying out plans. He used to say that the means must be as pure and noble as the ends. "As you sow, so you reap" is a veritable maxim to be practised by one and all under all climates. He adopted this non violent technique to solve personal, household national and global problems with consummate ease and grace.

Essence of Satyagraha :

What is Satyagraha? If is nothing but tapasya. A non-violent person alone can undertake tapasya (Self-suffering). As a school boy Gandhiji Committed a few acts of Omission and Commission. They were quite contrary to his nature. His conscience was pricking. When he revealed his mind to his dear mother, she directed him to confess his wrongs to his father. But he was deadly afraid of his ailing father who was a stern disciplinarian. So he put all his wrong deeds in black and white and handed to him that paper with trembling hands lest he should fly into a rage. His father went through it calmly, tore it into pieces and shed merely two drops of tears. This reaction affected young Gandhi so deeply that he began to cry. At that moment it dawned upon him that the best way to redeem a sinner is to suffer for him. This is the essence of satyagraha which he later launched in South Africa in 1908. A man of Ahimsa does not wound the feelings of others. If he finds that the action of the so-called adversary is inimical to the interests of the public, he gives him enough time to understand his mistakes. In ease the opponent fails to change his altitude, Satyagrahi plunges into action by voluntarily undergoing personal sufferings. Here tapasys comes handy to him. He does not hare the perpetrator of the evil but hates but hates only his action. In hard cases the satyagrahi succeeds in the long run to make him repent for his deeds and discontinue his confronting attitudes and operations. In order to take to tapasya we should have self-control through simple living and curtailment of wants of our own accord. Then we become really civilised as per Gandhiji.

The Role of Constructive Programme:

Gandhiji was a positive and dynamic thinker. Indeed he was a man of action par excellence. His one year All India travel as per the suggestion of the political mentor. Gopalakrishna Gokhale helped him a great deal to come to grips with then naked reality of the Indian situation. He was sorry to note that almost all the people irrespective of their status in life were in constant fear. Most of the rural youth were idling away their time for want of gainful occupations. Because of the want on destruction of the native, industries by our erstwhile rulers, our artisans were constantly drifting to the cities and towns to eke out their living. These triple pathetic conditions of the villagers made him feel the urgent need for the economic equality of the country. He naturally opted for the Constructive Programme in 1920 to upgrade the stand of their political, social, economic, educational, religious and

moral spheres of life. He started with 6 items of Constructive Programme first, increased it to 9 then 13 and at the time of his martyrdom it rose to 18. Now we have 24 items of the programme to suit our needs. Where the people took to the production of Khadi and Village Industries with the guidance and co-operation of the All India Spinners' Association and All India Village Industries Association respectively, they became self-reliant and self-sufficient in their basic wants. They began to feel the warmth of a sustained life and the feeling of self-help slowly helped them to yearn for their freedom from the foreign suppression. Thus we see that Gandhiji, educated the masses to understand their pathetic conditions through his Constructive Programme. In short, Constructive Programme stands for Poorna Swaraj and all round development of the citizens of Bharat with self-respect and national honour.

Eka Desa Vratas :

We are living in a democracy, surely the largest in the world. Its successful running entirely depends upon the character and integrity of its individual citizens. In order to raise the tone of democracy, the attitudes and aspiration of its constituents should be transformed to higher pedestal. That is the individual should be above boards with a wholesome global approach. To make them grow harmoniously and integratedly Gandhi prescribed Eka Desa Vratas to them. In fact in all his ashrams both in South Africa and India he insisted on the ashramities to follow them in their daily life. These Eleven Vows, are Ahimsa, (Universal Love), Satya (Truth in Thought word and death), Astheya (Non-stealing), Brahmacharya (Way to reach God), Apagraha (Non Possession), Sareera Shrama (Bread Labour), Aswadha (control of palate), Sarvdra Bhaya Varjana (Complete Fearlessness), Sarva Dharmi Samanate (Equality of Religion), Swadeshi (Neighbourliness) and Sparsa Bhavana (Removal of Untouchability). The first five vratas and known as Pancha Maha Vratas adopted from our Upanishads and holy scriptures, while he added the remaining six out of his own experience with men and women in public life. Don't you honestly feel that if you practise the above in our daily life you will be free from pride and prejudices of ordinary human being and lead a happy contended and ennobling life of co-existence?

Simplicity in life:

Gandhiji is perhaps the greatest exponent of simple living and high thinking. He voluntarily relinguished his wants to the minimum required for an ordinary citizen of the world. For example while travelling by train from Dindigul to Madurai in 1921, he observed that the tiler of the soil has only two pieces of cloth of their bodies. In order to serve them fully he felt that he should dress like them as a mark of his identification with the poorest of the lot. So he surprised the audience in the public meeting next day at Madurai with his loin cloth and towel on his chest. Again years later when he was spinning on charkha in his Sevagram ashram, the second little daughter of Jamanlal Bajaj could not understand why such a great man of Gandhiji's stature often met by leaders of all nationalities should be poorly clothed. Encouraged by her mother she asked Gandhiji, why he should not put on better clothes. Similarly, he told her that if she could provide him with such a dress he would wear it willingly. On getting the nod from her mother she wanted to know how many pairs of dresses he required for him. Pat came the answer, three hundred crores of pairs. She and her mother were stunned and she negatived the request for want of money. Then only she understood that Gandhiji lived for the

lowest of the low and that he would wear fashionable dresses only when the poorest of the lot got them. Such an identification with masses will certainly take us near to them enabling us to comprehend them felt optimum needs in life. Then we will plan in such a way that they will produce their requirements through their contribution in labour and money. So to get things done on a mass scale, the organisers should adopt a way of life in consonance with the situation at hand in order to make them believe on our sincerity and service motive. Thus simplicity is the hall mark of a person bent upon liberating others from doldrums.

Ashram Way of Life :

Those who want to liberate others should set an example to one and all through their practices. In 1904 after going to Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' during his journey from Johannesburg to Durban. Gandhiji once for all determined to lead a Sarvodaya way of life. So he shifted his printing press from Durban to Phoenix 13 miles away from the city atmosphere and there began with his like-minded workers to live a life of dedication with minimum conforts to establish Sarvodaya pattern of living. On another occasion he entertained the dispirited families of erstwhile Satyagrahis at Tolstoy Farm in 1910 and made those heterogeneous members of different languages, religions and traditions into a homogeneous group of persons by alloting work to them according to their age, skills, bent of mind etc. This ashram life enabled them to tide over their fear, distress and other inconveniences caused by the severity of their jail life. Again even in India he established two ashrams, one in Sabarmati in 1915 and another at Sevagram in 1936 to experiment on duty-conscious, happy sharing life. In fact he launched his Salt Satyagraha in 1930 only after training 78 chosen individuals on vigorous and well disciplined life and took them on a padayatra from Sabarmati to Dandi shore 241 miles away. Thus he proved to the world at large that only those who practise what they preach will be able to persuade other to fall in line with them effecting a just transformation as anticipated.

Self-Reliant Organisation :

In the All India Congress meeting at Vijayawada in 1920 Gandhiji helped the Conference pass a resolution to introduce 20 lakh of charkhas in villages to make them hum with musical note of the spinning wheels in that year itself. As a typical Karma Yogi he started the All India Spinners' Association in 1925 calling its members Trustee to look after the progress of that nascent programme. Thereby he liberated the villagers from their lethargy to produce one of their basic wants, i.e., clothing. In 1934 when Dr.J.C.Kumarappa apprised him of the dire need to popularise village industries as complementary to the spinning activities. Gandhi through a resolution in the All India Village Industries Association with its Head Quarters at Maganwadi in Wardha. More than 40 lakhs of rural artisans are now employed through this move. In order to enthuse the village women in nation building programme he started the Kasturba Trust on the demise of his better half in jail in 1944 and now the country is blessed with dedicated women doctors, nurses, teachers and social workers through this outstanding organisation. When he thought of national education in 1937 quite ahead of allow other leaders, he conducted the National Education Conference at Wardha with select band of representatives from all walks of life and laid the foundation for the Nai Talim Sangam to support and propagate Basic Schools throughout India. Hind Kust Nivaran Sang Adim Jati Sevak Sangh (All India Adivasis

Organisation), Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Go Seva Sangh Nature Cure Association, Harijan Sevak Sangh are some of the brain children of Mahatma Gandhi to serve the causes of the respective spheres of action. By involving willing experts in the activities meant for the upgradation of the standard of life of the people Gandhiji proved beyond doubt that he was the most pragmatic philosopher the world has ever come across.

Swadeshi Spirit:

Swadeshi Dharma is another scintillating medium through which we can liberate the downtrodden from their forlorn state. The exact meaning of Swadesi is Neighbourliness. That is, it amounts to the fundamental principle of Jesus Christ, "Love thy neighbour as thyself. Every one loves his mother dearly. It does not mean that he is inimical to other mothers. Similarly we should see that we purchase articles made by our immediate neighbours, especially from rural areas. If we could restrict our buying to hand-made products, well and good. Only when such things are not available in our locality and when they are felt most indispensable for us, we are permitted to buy from outside By adopting this technique, every area will provide employment to its inhabitants and money circulation will be within that jurisdiction enhancing the purchasing power of its citizens. Such a self-reliant and self-sufficient community will certainly pave the way for global peace and prosperity on the basis of the Oceanic circle of Mahatma Gandhi.

Trusteeship Theory :

It is a fact that Feudalism gave way to capitalism at the advent of machine culture in the 18th century. Exploitation, the inherent evil of capitalism had to be dispensed with by socialism and its concomitant communism. As the latter has proved to be State Capitalism only with no soul of its own, it had to break down of it own. Under these circumstances Gandhiji recommended Trusteeship to undo the evils of communism and do justice to the cause of human prosperity on peaceful lines. When I am able to earn more than my neighbours and when I am endowed with special talents and skills, I should at once feel that the extra wealth I possess and the special skills I own quite different from others are meant for pleasing the community at large and not to be accumulated for my personal use and enjoyment. Then I become a trustee of my extra possessions getting the approbation of my neighbours. Religion and philosophy approve of such a state of affairs. Jamanlal Bajaj of Wardha became such a Gandhian Trustee by always placing a signed empty cheque book on the table of Gandhiji who utilised his money for accelerating the pace of development of Khadi and Viilage Industries and other items of his humanitarian Constructive Programme. Soon this spirit caught the imagination of other industrialists of India to reserve a certain percentage of their profits for the amelioiation of their workers. One Sri. Meiyar of West Germany allotted a portion of his earnings to his Velvet mills workers who used to manage his mill as their own. This Trusteeship Way of Life will solve many problems prevalent to any society anywhere in the world.

Testimonial to Gandhian Concepts :

On 18th April 1951 a human miracle took place in Bharat. Acharya Vinoba just asked for 80 acres of land for 40 pining Harijan families of Puchampalli village in Andhra Pradesh. He was taken

a back when one Sri Ramachandra Reddy, a mirasdar of that village came forward with 100 acres of wet land. As per Vinoba's suggestion he went home, consulted his family members and handed over to him next morning a land patra duly signed by his wife and children. This humanitarian Act stirred the imagination of the Acharya who undertook a walking tour throughout India for 14 years and got more than 42 lakhs of acres for distribution to the landless labourers. He also obtained a lakh and odd Sulab Gramdana with a cluster of Dans like Sarnpatti Dan, Shram Dan, Buddhi Dan, Gram Dan, Toofan Gram Dan. Jeeven Dan and Sarvodaya Patra. The concept of Gram Sabha i.e., the village Parliament and Planning Commission, too, dawned on the people illustrating the efficacy of planned Group Living. Trusteeship theory. Co-operative Living through collective thinking and rule of love. This has happened after the death of the Father of our Nation as a standing monument to his eternal principles of Truth and Non-Violence.

Role of Human Beings:

Let us now study critically how these principles adopted by Gandhiji in his lengthy eventful life in South Africa and India will be relevant in a fast changing world like ours.

After all man is man wherever he may be. He is born in this world out of the cooperation and mutually loving life his parents had led. That is, there is love in every fibre of his being. Then how can he afford to hate his neighbour and remain unmindful of the difficulties he had to face. Only when we move closely with others we are able to understand them properly and deal with them suitably. All our religions stress the need for us to be truthful, loving compassionate and service oriented and if need be, to sacrifice, too, for the sake of others. They have sprung up with a view to helping the needy and remaining cheerful, peaceful and contented without uttering lies and speaking ill of others. They say that God is one and that He is the Father of all His Creations. Therefore we should be pious and ever ready to render service to those in dire need.

Purpose of the Human Birth :

A man is born in this world for Self-Realisation. As he is in the image of his holy father, God, it is his bounden duty to understand his role and realise his creator. He should remember that he is the immortal Soul and not his perishable body. When this idea percolates into his mind, he becomes utterly fearless and treats all his neighbours as his equals. This when he sees them in jeopardy he comes to their rescue with great warmth offering his loving services. On their return to normalcy he feels greatly elated. Here comes his religion handy and he takes refuge in it sharing the fruit of his action with the recovered individuals. His politics, too come to his help through their welfare measures. Moreover, we in India declared ourselves as far back as 1950 that we are a nation of Secular, Democratic Socialist Republic. All are equal as per our constitution and all of us participate in decision making and the execution of our plans from the grass root level. Mutual sharing of our produce through equitable distribution is also implied in our governance. This intended Self-Rule makes us disciplined and patriotic in our daily life. Thus it will be seen that Gandhi Liberation Techniques hold good at all times in all climes leading us to eternal peace and progressive prosperity.

Jai Jagat.

APPENDIX - II

THE GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE WEAKER SECTIONS

K. Arunachalam

1. Defining and identifying weaker sections.
2. Identification of the Gandhian Techniques for the liberation of the weaker sections.
3. The historical, comparative and Interpretative aspects of these techniques.
4. How these techniques can specifically be used to liberate such weaker sections.

Mahatma Gandhi wanted to realize brotherhood or identify not merely with the beings called human, but he wanted to realize or identify with all life, even with such beings as crawl on earth. It was this quest after the realization of truth that landed Gandhi in identifying the weaker section and work for their liberation. The two Ashrams he had established in South Africa were operated as self sufficient unit combining agricultural individual and recreational activities This style of living, inspired by the writings of John Ruskin and Leo Tolstoy, acquainted Gandhiji with the problem of rural economy. And his reading of Dadabhai Naoroji India Poverty and the British Rule (1901). William Digby's Prosperous British India (1901), R.C. Dutt's two volumes on the Economic History of India under British Rule (1902-1906), all convinced Gandhiji of the subtle end some times not too subtle exploitation of India that had been impoverishing the country. And a first hand study of India's economic conditions during 1915-16 convince Gandhiji that the illiterate, inarticulate masses of India living in the villages had been the hardest hit by this process of exploitation. As Gandhiji stated time and again it was the system of imperialism and Colonial Rule that had been responsible for the impoverishment of the people. That was the reason why he decided to dedicate himself to end colonialism and imperialistic dominations of people everywhere if they are to live like human beings with dignity.

Eradication of rural poverty become his topmost concern; and as we shall see presently, how he concerned for the liberation of these famine-stricken people.

Gandhiji's deep concern for the well-being of the hungry millions is vividly brought out by the following statement that he made at his memorable trail on 16th March 1922. Before the British advent, India spun and wove in her millions of cottages just the supplement she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. The cottage industry, so vital to India's existance, has been ruled by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by British witnesses.

"Little do town dwellers know now the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realize that the government established by law in British India is carried on for

this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures, can explain away the evidence of the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town dweller of India will have to answer if there is a God above, for this crime against human which is perhaps unequalled in history".

Women who are more than half the population are in bondage not only in India but in the whole world. The condition of women is unbearable Men have shalked the hands and feet of women. The ornaments have made prisoners of women and society regards them as symbols of wifehood. Just as machines have destroyed village industries foreign countries have destroyed the trade of our cities and our cities have destroyed our village industries, in the same way men have made an organised effort to destroy women's industries. From the Vedas, we learn that in those days only women did weaving. But later on man took up the work of weaving and gave the women the work of filling bobbins. That is man took up the important work and left the less important for the women. Thus women were given an inferior place.

Women in India suffered from several social inequalities, early marriage, the purdha system, dowry, widowhood, prostitution, suttee, etc. Serious efforts had been made since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) to liberate women from their handicap as well as to free them from the injustices meted out to them. Inspite of all that has been done till now the condition of women today has not yet changed to the desired extend. There is no section of the community which suffers more and that India still continues to be the paradise of husband in which the women have only little share".

The third category of weaker sections is that of the untouchables in India. Regarding this Gandhiji, wrote in 1933, 'untouchability' as it is practised in Hinduism today in my opinion is a sin against God and man is therefore like a prison slowly eating into the very vitals of Hinduism ...... Untouchability as we are observing today in India is hideous thing and wears various forms in various provinces, even districts, it has stunted the growth of nearly 40 million human brings. They are denied even the ordinary amenities of life. The sooner, therefore, it is ended, the better for Hinduism better for India and perhaps better for mankind in general'.

Gandhiji believed it is true in Vernashrama Dharma. But he had also said again and again that what is practised today in the name of varnashrama Dharma is a travesty of what is contained in the Vedas. Gandhiji was convinced towards the last decades of his life that the hierarchical systems of casts should be rejected lock stalk and barrel. Let no one go with the feeling that the Mahatma had any reservation in regard to the eradication of untouchability. He was categorical in his views that it is the duty of those who claim superiority to claim down and embrace every human being as their equals. He also gave his full support to legislative treasures for the removal of all social economic and educational disabilities that stood in the way of the progress of the so called untouchables.

The fourth is the tribal. They are over four crores in all India. There are several tribes with many different languages and cultures. The majority of tribal population is concentrated in eastern, central and western, part of this country and about 25% are dispersed in small pockets in the southern zone.

The fifth category of weaker sections is the Lepers. India is perhaps home of lepers next only

to Central Africa. According to Gandhiji, the lot of the lepers who are much in need of attention is studies neglect.

The sixth is the presence of large number of minority communities in India such as Muslims, Christians Sikhs, Parsis, etc. According to the 1981 census, of 68.4 crores people of India 12% are Muslims. Muslim's constitute the largest religious minority in our country and in the state of Jammu & Kashmir the majority community spread all over the country, from Kashmir to Kerala and from Assam to Gujarat their population in a number of states is considerable. More than half of them live in what is known as the Hindi speaking region comprising Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi, Punjab and Haryana. The problem of Muslim minority is particularly acute in this region. In other states there are Muslim pockets. Barring Pakistan and Indonesia. India has the largest Muslim Population in any country of the world.

For the achievement of non violent-independence implementation of constructive programme of which communal unity is according to Gandhiji, is a must. Unfortunately our-freedom movement developed certain negative features. Religions and politics were mixed up frequently and religious revivalism was encouraged by many national leaders. These negative features were and being used by rulers and political parties. Liberations is impossible unless communal harmony is established. Gandhian way may be considered.

In the above paragraphs we have made an attempt lo identify weaker sections. In listing the weaker sections, we have partially defined the weaker sections. But it is worth while to have an acceptable clear-cut definition of weaker sections, it will do well for the participants of the seminar to pool their ideas and arrive at a consensus.

Now let us turn to the Techniques that Gandhiji used to liberate the weaker sections. We can straightaway identify some of the techniques from his writings and practices.

They are :

1. Satyagraha
2. Constructive Work
3. Decentralisation
4. Trusteeship
5. Ends and Means
6. Self-reliance and Self-suffering
7. Swadharma & Swadeshi
8. Bread Labour
9. New Education or Nayi Talim
10. Integrated approach-Simultaneity Change

Satyagraha

"Satyagraha was Gandhi's way of fighting the British Raj" Satyagraha is a technique for solving social conflicts. It is a form of struggle to achieve social ends. Satyagraha is war without violence, it is non-violent direct-action.

Satyagraha is a process of educating public opinion, such that it covers all the elements of the society and in the end makes itself irresistible".

"The fight of Satyagraha is for the strong in spirit, not doubter or the timid Satyagraha teaches us threat of living as well as dying".

"Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be extended to every other circle".

"Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral".

"Satyagraha is purely a spiritual weapon".

"Satyagraha does not depend on outside help, it derives all its strength from within".

"In the dictionary of Satyagraha, there is no enemy".

"Satyagraha and its off-shoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance are nothing but new names for the law of suffering".

"It is the fashion now-a-days to use the would `Satyagraha for any kind of resistance and armed or otherwise, this looseness harms the community and degrades Satyagraha. If therefore, we understand all the implication of Satyagraha and know that the living God of Truth and Love is with the Satyagraha, we will have no hesitation in believing that it is invariable".

Harijan, Nov. 23, 1947

In this book "War without violence" Shri Krishnalai Shridharani lists the following steps or methods in the technique of Satyagraha:

1. Negotiations or arbitrations; 2. Agitation 3. Demonstration and the ultimation 4. Self-purification 5. Strikes and general strikes, 6. Picketing; 7. Dharna 8. .Economic boycott; 9. Non payment of taxes; 9-A. Hizarat; 10. Non-cooperation; 10-A. Ostacism, 11. Civil disobedience; 12. Assertive Satyagraha; 13. Parallel. Government 14. Human wall against in Vision.; 15 Organising non-violent State.

Constructive Work :

"The Constructive programme 'may otherwise and more fittingly be called construction of Poorna Swaraj or complete independence by truthful and non-violent means.

"Efforts for construction of Independence so called through violent and therefore necessarily untruthful means we know only too painfully. Look at the daily destruction of property, life and truth in the present war".

"Complete Independence through truth and non-violence means the independence of every unit be it the humblest of the nations, without destruction of race, colour or creed. The independence is never exclusive. It is, therefore, wholly compatible with interdependence, within or without Practice will always fall short of theory, even as the drawn line falls short of theoretical line of Euclid. Therefore, Complete Independence will be complete only to the extent of our approach in practice to truth and non-violence".

"On the other hand there ie no such thing as an imaginary on even perfect definition of independence through violence. For, it presupposes only ascendency of that party of the nation, which makes the most effective use of violence, it is perfect equality, economic otherwise, is inconceivable".

"But for my purpose, which is to convince the reader of the necessity of following out the Constructive programme in the non-violent effort, the acceptance of my argument about the ineffectiveness of violence for the attainment of Independence is not required. The Reader is welcome to the belief that independence of the humblest unit is impossible under a scheme of violence, if this effort enables him also to admit that it is a certainly through the complete execution of the programme by the nation".

- I3-11-1945.

"Constructive work is not a strategy or a technique of fighting to be adopted or discarded as expediency may suggest. It cannot a way of life. It has to be adopted by the heart as well as by the intellect".

"The goal of constructive work is not to provide economic relief of the unemployed or to distribute some wages to the poor. But to build up a non-violent social order. For that what was needed was a superior, a more advanced type of worker who would have a full understanding of the scientific basis of constructive work and an awareness of its implications in term of non-violence. Success would depend upon uttermost purity; impatience would be fatal".

- Dec. 1947.

"The objective of constructive work organisations is to generate political power, not to capture it. But if we say that political power being attained, it should be ours as a reward for our labour, it would degrade us".

Decentralisation:

"But the Khadi mentality means decentralisation of production and the distribution of the necessaries of life. Therefore formula so far evolved is, every village to produce and use all its necessaries and, in addition produce a certain percentage as its contribution to the requirements of the cities".

"Heavy industries will necessarily be centralised and nationalised. But they will occupy the least part of the vast national activity in the village".

T. Volfn. p.20.

"The greater the decentralisation of labour, the simpler and cheaper the tools".

Ibid, 21.

"The congress has become popular because it has been foremost in fighting imperialism. Today the old way is of no avail. Nobody thinks of mass revolt at present. The best, quickish and the most efficient way is to build up from the bottom. The psychological moment has come, "Back to the Village;" has become a necessity from every point of view. Now is the time to decentralize production and distribution. Every village has to become self sufficient republic. This does not require brave resolutions. It requite brave, corporate, intelligent work".

Gandhiji was opposed to an economic system, based on mass production and the consequent concentrating economic power, which created sharp inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income. He was in search of a decentralised economy with a strongly oriented rural character not only for its own sake as a way of life, but also as a means of creating a completely exploitation-free system which was before equalitarian and at the same time capable of ensuring employments, for all able and willing to work, on a level of living that guaranteed the satisfaction of man's requited needs.

Delivering the Sakthi Charities Endowment Lectures 1976-77 on "Gandhian perspectives on a Decentralised Economy and Polity", Prof.B.N.Ganguli says, "A decentralised polity of Gandhi's conception was an expression of a decentralised economy on the political level - it is dispersed, simple societies had to live and have their being in the modern age. They could not remain archaic, authoritarian societies - much too fragmented as in the past and lacking cohesiveness and a breadth of outlook and merely surviving under conditions of poverty and destitution. Such societies would be difficult to construct, without a new orientation of community life, in accordance with Gandhi's value system. But had no doubt that, if Indian freedom for the masses, it did not merely means a decentralized polity meaning a devolution of power from the centre to the States of the Union, according to the Western principles of Federalism, with of course, suitable deviations. It meant a decentralised polity, with small rural units as the basic units of the federation. Therefore, he thought of a pattern of federation of cooperative Panchayats. As the Fabian Socialists in early days realise it was not easy to constructs federation of basic units; particularly in existing British economic and political environment. In the Indian environment the problem had other complex dimensions".

"As for as I am aware Gandhi had not devoted much attention to details. For one thing, it was a problem for the future. For another thing, what probably he thought he could usefully do, was to state& the main principle of political reconstruction in the form to which I stated just now. When he was pressed hard toward the end of his life to define his ideal social order, he did produce a kind of inspired statement entitled, "Content of Independence outline of a Social Circle", which was published in the Harijan on July 22,1946. In this essay somewhat mystically he described the federation of cooperative panchayats as an "Oceanic Circle", I think that he was pulling his weight on one line of force in the parallelogram of forces hoping that the outcome would be beneficial kind of resultant. His

logic however, seems to be crystal clear. If freedom and self-government where the national coals, they could not come by a devolution from the above, but must become a reality at the rural base, in the first instance. Otherwise if it is an ordinary pyramidal structure the base exists for the apex, not the other way round. Indeed it went against Gandhi's brain to think in terms of the base and the 'supernature', or the 'Centre' and the 'Periphery'. That is why he used an unfamiliar, mystic phrase, 'an Oceanic Circle'.

"Explaining this mystic phrase", Gandhiji wrote, "In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever, widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of village till at least the whole becomes one life composed of individual never aggressive in their arrogance, but very humble, Sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle, of which they are integral units. Therefore the outer most circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and will derive its own strength from it".

Trusteeship :

"Trusteeship implies property. It also means that there should be a person who creates the trust. There must be a trustee who will hold the property in trust. The trust deed would specify the object of the trust. There will necessarily be beneficiaries who will be recipients of the outcome of the trust property. Along with these the rights, duties and observations of the trustee will be inducted in the trust".

"The theory of Trusteeship makes no distinction between private and non-private property. All property is held in trust, no matter who possesses it, and what its nature or quantity is. Indeed, the theory of Trusteeship applies not only to tangible and transferable property, but also to place of power and position and to intangible and nontransferable property such as he muscular energy of labourer and the talents of a Helen Keller. Even a cripple in an asylum for invalids is a trustee to the extent he is able to exercise his will".

Ends and Means:

End Justifies the means is a dangerous doctrine-Priority or means is equally important, The relationship between the end and means is like that of a seed and tree. All evils in society can be corrected if attention is paid to purity of means. Liberation of weaker sections can be assumed by studying the means.

Self reliance and Self sufficiency:

The basic vitality of the village system lies in its self sufficiency and self reliance in their primary requirements of food, clothing and housing. Strengthening the people's liberation from poverty and exploitation.

Swadharma and Swadeshi:

Gandhiji was a leader of the classes as well as the masses. He appealed to their Swadharma. He expected everyone according to his capacity and share it with his neighbour.

Swadeshi movement was developed in the wake of the partitioning of Bengal in the first decade of this century. But it had patered out. Gandhiji gave it a new impetus and new direction. He gave a reinterpretation of Swadeshi in his own way. In 1916, he said, 'Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote". He added "Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to ruinous departy are from Swadeshi". He crusaded for a revolution in our mental outlook in alt walks of life.

Bread Labour

Gandhiji maintained that if everyone worked for his own food most of the world wide conflicts between capital and labour could be avoided and mostly of the problems of class and rank distinctions abolished. He further declared that, "God created man to work for his food', and said that, 'those who eat without work were thieves. He was deeply concerned about the idleness of Indians and attributed the cause of poverty in India partly to this laziness, Swaraj meant nothing to him if it did not show them how to employ their enforced idleness". It is because of these considerations that Gandhji accepted the ideal of "Bread Labour" whether it was tilling, weaving or doing the work of a scavanger.

New Education or Nayi Talim:

Gandhiji came out of jail (Agha Khan Palace) with a new vision of Nayl Talim One of his fresh utterances after his release from detension was.

"I have been hard during the detention period over the possibilities of Nayl Talim until my mind became restive".

"We must not rest content with our present achievements. We must participate in the houses of the children. We must educate their parents. Basic Education must become literally education for life''.

"Our field now is not merely the child of seven to fourteen years, the field of Nayl Talim stretches from the hour of conception in the mother's womb to the hour of death.

Nayi Talim will have to become universal. And seven lakhs of villages which today display our poverty will themselves become prosperous; their prosperity will come out from without, but from within, from the true industry of every villager. May this dream be a true vision".

The Comparative and interpretative aspects of these technique

Now having considered the Gandhi techniques of liberation in the foregoing pages it would be worth while to study briefly other approaches to the liberation of weaker sections so as to be able to assess from a comparative angle the significance of Gandhiji's contribution. It may be said that there

are as many approaches to liberation as these are ways of thinking in the world. For the problem of liberation is a fundamental problem; and it, therefore affects and engage the minds of all. But it is difficult to know every point of view. Therefore it is proposed to consider only the American model and the Soviet model which have received global attention.

Democratic ideology of America postulated the equality of all citizens, equal opportunities for all, and a special regard for human personality. Ever since the declaration of Independence in 1782, these values were written into the constitution of America. But it is a sad story that inspite of all efforts a sizable number of people in America still remain in more or less slave condition. They heve no "freedom to be free". This may be discussed by this course participants. Gandhian techniques an applied science in liberation can be studied in comparison with the Laisez Faire and capitalistic competitive way of life of the Americans.

Lenin, the founder of USSR was of the opinion that the unjust social and economic system exists today because the exploiters hold the power of the state in their hands If their power can be transferred to the exploited by means of a revolution then they can so build society a new that a continuance of the present wrongs will become impossible. The Revolution in Russia took place in November 1917. Still we are told that the process of total liberation is on. How long it will take to go anywhere near the goal nobody knows. But now USSR itself has collapsed!

Gandhiji believes that the rest of the problems of liberation does not lie in the authority of the state, but in the character of the individual. Hence his techniques some of these short-term and long-term. But he wishes that they must be taken as "whole and integrated".

Specific use of these techniques :

a) How can this techniques be adopted to eradicate poverty. (1) In a developed country (2) In an under developed estern (3) in an under developed western society (4) In a southern society (5) In a northern society.

b) How can social equality be assured to people in unequal caste ridden or class bound societies?

c) How can those steped in ignorance and illiteracy be assured of a good life?

d) What guidance can be given to the perplexed world? can the answer be

To change people's heart

To create a change in their lives

To change the social structure

through a trained dedicated cadre of workers one in every village of small community-trained in the art of persuading not only the people but the five important forces in society viz.,

1. People's power.
2. Power of the servants of Society.
3. Power of intellectuals
4. Power of moneyed people
5. Government power

APPENDIX - III

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE DALIT ISSUE - A REVIEW

Prof. N. Radhakrishnan*

Gandhi always had his critics and tormentors and he was the centre of many storms even when he was alive. There were people big and small, both in India and abroad, who violently disagreed with him on several issues. He generated public- discussions from the early part of his public life which began in South Africa in 1893 and continued to generate criticism until his assassination in 1948 on the prayer grounds of the Birla House in Delhi, in fact, Gandhi's spiritual, mental and political growth from an ordinary young man who did not exhibit much brilliance in his behaviour or achievements except his adherence to truth and honesty to a Mahatma whose greatness is being universally recognised and debated all over the world now reveals astonishing facets of struggle particularly for justice. Let it be remembered that no great man or woman of history was above criticism and Gandhi too had his share. It might be interesting to ask why is it that while all the critic and dissenters of Gandhi who too were tall and important in their times either have now faded into the dim pages of history or have been consigned to the dustbins of political expediency, Gandhi continues to inspire even those in the far away continents and his relevance is being increasingly examined all over the world.

All available trends from different parts of the world today indicate that humanity caught in the web of material culture and consumeristic guagmire is examining seriously the Gandhian options as a way out. There is a void and no other philosophy or way of life is believed to have at the moment the inbuilt capacity to sustain not only the aspirations of our times but also take humankind further as a viable alternative to meet the requirements of some of the vexed problems humanity is confronted with.

There is nothing wrong at this juncture if a section of Gandhi's own countrymen raise a controversy on his alleged failure in certain areas. Nobody is infallible not even the greatest Examination and re-examination of the relevance and the role men and women who lived before them is the eight of succeeding generations and what matters is the honesty with which such exercise is undertaken. As Gandhi said again and again, fearlessness is that first pre-requisite of courage and cowards can never be moral. And in a democracy like India where when political leaderships run but

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of creative ideas to sustain their influence on the masses it is quite understandable that they look for the issue both existant and non-existant. They tend to look for the most emotive and sensitive issues which they think will evoke desired emotional response in the people. They may not be worried about the possible division their action might generate by doing so among people. In the absence of any creative programmes based on the genuine needs of the people who need to be offered genuine alternatives, short-sighted and small time politicians invoke names of leaders, religions, caste, language and other emotional issues to whip up hatred between people. They have every right to interpret history but what they forget is that distorted versions of history will only generate ill will and disharmony among people.

One of the most disquieting developments in the Indian social and political scenario in the last two decades in the emergence of religion and caste as potential vote banks. In the mad rush for political supremacy instead of working for the removal of several of the age old inequities and dehumanizing practices like untouchability, people are encouraged to fight among themselves mutal acrimony and denigration of leaders of the past have become the chief modes in this game of one-upmahship.

Regrettably all those who are promoting this dangerous game seem to have forgotton the simple truth that by denigrating them, those who indulge themselves in these self-defeating exercise only expose their ignorance of history.

While no sensible person could feel happy about the tardy progress india has have made to undo the injustice done to a sizeable segment of its population in the name of caste, attempts to cenigrate any particular leader, and least of all to denigrate Mahatma Gandhi by unleashing a mischievous propaganda that he was not interested in removing the evil of untouchability and his concern for the untouchable was only skin-deep will only indicate how hypocritical these self-appointed messiahs of social justice who propagate such distorted versions of history are.

Let us not forget that in the history of social movements in India it was Gandhi who organised systematic mass movement against untouchability for the first time and he was the first modern leader who presented a sustainable programme of action to root out untouchability. This is history.

The practice of untouchability in India like the race and colour problems in the west was developed upon the idea of superiority of one section of the people over another on account of their birth. And over the centuries it got religious sanction to support and sustain its identity. Gradually it enveloped the entire Hindu sociel structure and brought disrepute to Hinduism despite the fact that it has always been condemned outright by saints, religious leaders, social reformers and free thinkers supported by the orthodoxy, this demon extended its tentacles and grew in strength.

The argument that this practice has got some religious sanction is not correct according to the research available now. This is probably an example of a very corrupt social practice getting religiious sanctions on the insistence of orthodoxy. The practice over the years generated social hatred and discriminatory feelings. Ceaseless efforts were made by social reformers to alleviate the status of the victims and bring them to a level by which they would live with dignity and confidence in society.

This was however a complex problem and a satisfactory solution always eluded. Several prominent personalities like social reformers, educationists, political leaders, even in the past like the Buddha, Mahavir, Kabir, Nanak, Dayanand and others tried to root our this evil practice. But somehow or the other the system was able to resist all such attempts. Much of the schism and division we have in our society even today is due to this very old corrupt practice.

Mahatma Gandhi regarded untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism. He developed this feeling even as a child. He described in his autobiography how he did not like numerous Hindus customs which promoted the feeling of inequality in Indian society. He also regretted that Hinduism had given sanction to untouchability and Indian society has suppressed a large number of people by doing so.

To quote Gandhi, "I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism. This idea was not brought home to me by bitter experience during the South African struggle it is not due to the fact that I was once an agnostic. It is equally wrong to think, as some peopel do, that I have taken my views from my study of Christian religious literature. These views date as far back as the time when I was neither enamoured of nor was acquainted with the Bible or the followers of the Bible".

His deep study of the Hindu scriptures taught him that in Hinduism there was no sanction for treating a single human being as untouchable. The Bhagwat Greeta which he considered as his soiritua guide has never taught that a Chandala was in anyway interior to a Brahmin.

Gandhi realised that freedom to the country would not mean anything unless structural changes in the social set-up are introduced. As early as 1920 in *Young India* Gandhi wrote, "Non-cooperation against the government means cooperating among the governed and if the Hindus do not remove the sins of untouchability there will be no Swaraj whether in one year or in hundred years. Swaraj is as unattainable without the removal of the sins ofuntouchability as it is without Hindu Muslim unity".

He was quite clear in his mind that untouchability could not be removed by force or law. It could only be removed when the majority of Hindus will realise that it was a crime against God and men and all those who are responsible for this should be ashamed of it. In other words he was appealing to the common sense of both the liberal minded and orthodox Hindus to purify their mind and attitude by getting rid of this practice.

The greatness of Gandhi was such that he realised that the imperial ambitions of Britain were not the only factors responsible for India's slavery. Gandhi painfully realised the various factors responsible for the present degradation. He saw how the poor untouchables were living and the cruel and in human treatment meted out to them by their fellow human beings.

He realised that the practice of untouchability violates human dignity. It also raises serious economic problems. The untouchables were among the poorest section of society. The avenues of employment were strictly limited. They were segregated and living apart in unhygienic surroundings on the outskirts of villages and cities. Not only that the orthodox Hindus did believe that even untouchables should not be allowed to worship the same Gods and Goddesses they worship. They

should not be allowed to enter Hindu temples, public institutions like schools, hotels and hostels were also closed to them.

Even in the farflung villages Gandhi saw separate glasses and vessels kept for the Harijans to drink tea. They were not allowed to sit along with caste Hindus. The multi-dimensions of untouchability pained him more than anything else.

The great Harijan tours Gandhi undertook, the epic fast Gandhi imposed on himself at the peril of his life and much above those the constructive work programmes that he wanted the nation to adopt reveal the importance Gandhiji attached not only to Harjan upliftment but also the removal of untouchability.

He suspended his political activity and devoted his entire energy to Harijan work in 1933. This evoked many sharp reactions from even some of his closest friends. During the course of his tour he addressed several hundred meetings, exhorting the Hindus to take Harijan uplift work as an act of expiation of centuries of oppression and exploitation of their brethren. He ridiculed emphatically the idea of people, being high or low, clean or unclean by birth. He not only wanted all public temples to be opened to the Harijans, he even went to the extent of reminding "temples are for sinners, not for saints and who is to judge where no man is without-sin". The anti-untouchable campaign of Gandhi turned out to be a multi dimensional and multi pronged attack on the evil of the inhuman practice. The first stage of this programme was to draw the attention of the caste Hindus to the evil side of untouchability.

He reminded them: "To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe; to Hinduism and to themselves. The purification required is not of 'untouchables' but of the social superior castes. There is no vice, that is special to the untouchables not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance that blinds us, superier Hindus, to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our brethren whom we have suppresssd and whom ws keep under suppression ... that religion and that nation will be alotted out from the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence".

Gandhi similarly exhorted the untouchables to develop self-respect and courage and not to yield in their determination to get what they deserve. He said, "you should realise that you are cleaning Hindu society. You have therefore to purify your lives. You should cultivate the habit of cleanliness, so that no one may point his finger at you. Use alkali ash or earth If you cannot afford to use soap to keep yourselves clean ... You should cease to accept leavings from plates however clean they may be represented to be. Receive gain only......". Gandhi always preached to the untouchables abstention from carrioneating and intoxicating drinks and drugs.

The third tier of the programme Gandhi simultaneously was the various socio-economic measures aimed at educational, economic, and social welfare of the untouchables. These included such practical steps as opening all public schools, temples, and roads and also to ensure massive employment opportunities to the untouchables. Removal of untouchability is the first item in the constructive programme Gandhi offered to the nation for rebuilding it. The creation of the Harijan Sevak Sangh is also an important step Gandhi took to realise his objective of this removal of

untouchability. The primary objective of this organisation is to work for the removal of all disabilities and ensure social justice to the untouchables.

Dr.Ambedkar viewed Gandhi's efforts with suspicion. But one should try to understand Dr.Ambedkar's perception of the whole situation rather than looking at it critically or dismissing it lightly. Dr.Ambedkar who himself was a victim of the inhuman practice of untouchability was naturally hurt. He was a rebel and his attack on the evil system was as fierce as anybody else's. But to argue today that the honest difference of opinion that devel-oped between Gandhi and Ambadkar on this question from a purely political point of view and to deny Gandhi the importance of what he has done is not fair and to equate Gandhi with Dr.Ambedkar of try to put Dr.Ambedkar above Gandhi, I think is not fair.

Winston Churchill who called Gandhi almost in a contemptuous tone the 'Half-naked Fakir' appreciated Gandhi's great anti-untouchability campaign in 1932-34. Churchill is on record as having told G.D.Birla on August 9, 1934 that Gandhi had "gone up high in his esteem" since he stood for the 500 million untouchables of India.

Even Gandhi's left-wing colleague Subhash Bose who disagreed with Gandhi, violently on the means he had been adopting saw in Gandhi's crusade against untouchability "permanent and far-reaching effect in rousing the conscience of the Hindu community".

As Hiren Mukherjee pointed out, "Gandhi was undoubtedly one of the great social reformers of history. He could not "abolish" untouchabitity though the Constitution of India today avers with a fine indifference to facts that it has been abolished. But the jolt which Gandhi preemnineantly gave to that age-old infamy produced cracks and fissures which produced also doom''.

Even Today, unfortunately though we can take pride in the fact that the situation has improved' considerably, can we satisfy ourselves with tha wishful thinking that this serious blot is getting erased out of our social system?

To quote Gandhi when he poured out his anguish would not be out of place here. "I do want to be reborn. If I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows sufferings, and the affronts levelled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from the miserable condition. I therefore pray that if t should be born again, I should do so not as as a Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya. or Shudra but as an Atishudra".

What Jagjivan Ram said while evaluating Gandhi's role in the removal of untouchability and about the responsibilities of all of us in rooting out this malady is worth remembering: Gandhi did not succeed in bringing about a radical change in the Hindu social order which has influenced the Islamic and Christian orders also. He did not aspire to work for it. But he did put untouchables on the road to emancipation of the Hindu mind, which alone will herald the new order must necessarily be a long-drawn and painfut process...... .

Even a cursory look at Gandhiji's work from June 1893 to the day of his assassination in January

1948 would reveal that Gandhi approached the age-old problem of segregation of a considerable segment of Indian society in the name of caste as a sin against not only humanity but against God. What Gandhi did in regard to the rooting out of this is before us to see and analyse. Gandhi never claimed that he had succeeded in dismantling this inhuman practice but even his critics will agree that the strongest attack on this cruel system in modern times was that of Gandhi. Besides creating an all-round awareness on the urgent need of removing this, he succeeded in bringing it to the national agenda and made it into one of the most important areas of national concern while he had no illusion about removing untouchability overnight.

The rebel in Gandhiji, the social reformer in Gandhi, the political leader in Gandhi could see that untouchability was a centuries-old social problem which could be rooted out only by generating suffcient pressure on the social firmament rather than trying to remove it at one go by conversion to other religions. True, Gandhi too believed in conversion but that was the conversion of minds and attitude of people. Untouchability has gone into the collective psyche of millions of people who unfortunately bestowed over the centuries a religious halo to this practice. Gandhiji realised the imperative need of attacking it at the source of its origin and practice. He pointed out that unless the factors which force segregation or the practice of untouchability are removed through social, economic and political measures, this system will linger on as a curse even today though significant changes have appeared on the surface.

Gandhi presented before the nation a blueprint of a new revolution through his constructive programmes of which removal of untouchability topped the list. Nobody after or before Gandhi presented such a broad based action programme to combat the evil of untouchability.

It will be painful and a sheer distortion of history if we deny to Gandhiji the credit of what he did. There was no hypocrisy about him. He lived an open life and his entire life and work are open to scrutiny. He lived what he professed and to him announce of practice was worth tonnes of theory. Even as a child he revolted against the manner in which his friend Ulka, the untouchable, was treated by his own mother. In South Africa, among his friends were all categories of men from all communities. It is known to everybody how his wife developed very violent disagreement with him when she refused to clean the toilet of his untouchable friends. In the Phoenix Settlement and the Tolstoy Farm there was absolutely no segregation in the common kitchen. In his Asharm experiment, Gandhiji demonstrated to the world how all could be treated equally even under the existing system.

Back in India with the founding of Sabarmati Ashram Gandhiji fight against untouchability assumed definite shape and he was sure how the problem should be approached. He adopted an untouchable family, lived with it, much against the opposition of many of the Ashram inmates. Gandhi's sister walked away in protest. The steps Gandhiii took in removing untouchability invited such hostility from the caste Hindus that many of them even withdrew their financial commitment to support Sabarmati Ashram. Instead of succumbing pressure, Gandhiji went ahead with his programme. Later he realised that alone with political system, the lot of untouchable should also be improved and this could be seen in the manner in which he devoted three to four years exclusively to the Harijan campaign.

Those who worked with Gandhi end even those who saw Gandhiji from a distance will recollect the passion with which Gandhi applied his mind to the removal of untouchability which he knew was inextricably linked to the economic backwardness and lack of cleanliness among the untouchable.

Those who understand Gandhi know that Gandhi had a holistic vision of life and he never looked at anything from a sectarian point of view. Those who accuse Gandhi of walking out of the Round Table Conference and fasting against communal representation have deliberately allowed themselves not to see these steps in their correct perspective. At the Round Table Conference, Gandhi found the representatives of the untouchable play into the hands of the reactionary and communal elements which were unwilling to quit India and were trying to divide the Indian people. And Gandhi opposed this with conviction and courage and no one need be apologetic to restate this. His fast against the communal award was aimed at integrating the untouchable into mainstream of Indian community rather than allowing the untouchable to live perpetually with the stigma.

A Chinese proverb categorises truth into three categorise: your truth, my truth and the truth. And does the truth become a casualty any time? Yes very often and more often when short-sighted or blind men try to visualise something which is beyond their comprehension. Many of their efforts evoke pity rather than appreciation.

The cynical attempts being made to underestimate the historic and unassailable role Gandhi played in rooting out untouchability, one of the most dehumanising practices prevalent in India in the name of caste, raise very serious questions. The question which should merit our attention should be: "Are we going to judge historical personalities on the basis of what they said or did, or on the basis of our own prejudices or needs?" Gandhi wanted him to be Judged only on the basis of what he did. Any other attempts would be unfair to him.

It is generally said that scribes, disgruntled politicians and researchers are known to have a perchant for raking up trivial issues and blowing them up out of proportions and each of this category puts forward very spirited and what they believe convincing arguments in their defence. And very often truth becomes the casualty 'in the cross fire which will naturally follow these attempts. As one of the characters in Shakespeare says, some people are born great, some achieve greatness, while some have greatness thrust upon them. There are people, who perfect the art of iconoclasm as their main amunition to remain in politics and carve out a constituency. The desparate efforts of their people very often die down with a whimper. Hence most people countenance their efforts only with amused delight, some with disdain, while quite a few ignore these efforts with the contempt they deserve. To them these efforts are nò more than the spasmodic and Kneejerk-reactions of persons whose sole investment in public life is their ability to remain provocative beyond reason. And it becomes practically impossible for even the most matured person who cannot be tempted to join issue with these men or women to remain silent. When historical facts are twisted, statements misquoted and distorted and to suit one's convenience it raises the basic question; where do we go from here? And it appears even in our media, be it print or electronic media the people who indulge in these exercises, steel the limelight. The media attention bestowed on Mrs. Mayawati for her provocative statements on Gandhi raises further questions on the priority of our media. Well Mrs. Mayawati has

every right to air her views, but when she asserts with conviction in her TV interview, that she was only reiterating the views of her mentor Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, one wishes that she better had her facts verified and even tried to understand what Dr. Ambedkar said in the book she was flaunting as her Bible. "How can they (untouchables) believe in the earnestness of a man who is prepared to practise satyagraha for everything and against everybody but who will not practise it against the Hindus for the sake of the untouchables?" Ambedkar wrote in "What Congress and Gandiji' have done to the Untouchables in 1946. 48 years later, when someone objectively looks at the tenor of this statement, he cannot miss the fact that this is an instance of Ambedkar losing his cool and he allowed bitterness getting the batter of him.

To charge Gandhi as having used Satyagraha 'for everything and against everybody' and 'who will not practise it', to say the least was unfair and against all historical records we have today. Even the bitterest critics of Gandhi could not fail to see the rationale behind every Satyagraha Gandhi initiated from his South African days. Satyagraha was a sacred weapon for him to realise god, to achieve social justice, to root out evil practice, to create awareness, to fight racial discrimination and finally to end oppression Ambedkar, one of the finest brains we have in recent times, could not deny the basic fact that the Satyagraha of Gandhi released energy of unimaginable magnitude which indirectly helped Ambedkar also in carrying forward his fight for social justice. A closer scrutiny of the situation in the thirties and forties of this century in India would show that the Dalit Movement was built on the foundation Gandhi laid. And again, Satyagraha was only one of the many weapons in Gandhi's armoury and he used it with astonishing success particularly in rousing the conscience of the forces he was fighting. It cannot be forgotten that Gandhi and Ambedkar adopted different strategies in their crusade. No one can deny the fact that the onslaught of Gandhi on the age-old practice of untouchability was sincere and as typical of Gandhi he did not say anything which he did not practise. Ambedkar, questions : do they regard Mr. Gandhi as honest and sincere? He himself answers, "that they do not regard Mr. Gandhi as honest and sincere. "if this is so, how could Gandhi be held responsible for this. It could be as well due to the misinformation campaign orchestrated against Gandhi by those who were trying to divide the Indian society and create anarchy before, they left India. The role played by the camp-followers of the British in this calumny also has so be borne in mind.

Mr. Kanshi Ram went a step further and called Gandhi "a hypocrite just fooling innocent people". It appeals Mr. Kanshi Ram who adopts an aggressive style of political functioning allowed himself to be carried sway by emotion when he made this sweeping statement. The question that would naturally come to any one's mind is what is all this about. If the idea is to strengthen the base of Ambedkar. Why not it be on the basis of the philosophy and work of Ambedkar? Why snipe at Gandhi? Gandhi at no stage was Ambedkar's rival. Both of them had their mission and their idiom and style were also different. The major difference one may notice in their approach was when it came to the question of the Depressed Classes. Ambedkar was uncompromising and he was impatient about the slow progress in the dismantling of untouchability. His demand for separate electorate separate area for the depressed classes were all part of his programmes whereas Gandhi was trying to play the role of an integrator who believed that anymore class division of Indian society was something which he considered harmful to the health of the nation. While Gandhi wâs not quite happy with the slow

progress in the removal of untouchability, he was convinced that the national debate he has initiated, the various steps that he himself supervised, the tours he undertook, his speeches, his writings, the devotion with which several thousand of his followers all over India plunged in to the Harijan campaign, the terriple entry satyagraha, opening of schools, digging of common wells, interdining, intercaste marriages and many other programmes helped in generating awareness and putting pressure on the forces of status quo and gradually these steps assumed the shape of a mighty wave which kept on lashing at the shores and citadels of orthodoxy.

The Gandhian revolution in all its departments was based on values and not on emotional considerations. Gandhi was a revolutionary with a difference. While he advocated changes, his methods were certainly different from what many others adopted. There was no place in the Gandhian scheme of revolution for bloodshed and misery. The creative non-violence he was practising had at its base such tactics as persuasion, understanding, compassion, mutual respect, and non-injury. He did not want to leave a feeling of hurt in the minds of his opponents. On a question like the removal of untouchability he believed that the change should be through mutual consent as far as possible. Otherwise there would emerge a situation when millions of people would be on a prolonged confrontation and enemity which in the long run would be ruinous to the nation. Hence his perspectives on this vexed question were in conformity with his holistic vision. Many criticis of Gandhi allowed themselves to lose sight of this important aspect. Some present-day commentators too seem to be either buying the oft-repeated arguments made against Gandhi which one has been hearing even from the days of Gandhi and Ambebkar. Instead of commentators trying to ferret out new evidence and marshel convincing arguments what most of them do is to put up half-hearted defence mostly aplogetic in tone. Gandhi was never hypocritical. He had the courage to own up his mistakes and never believed that all what he was doing was successful. He reminded his colleagues to be fearless and he welcomed criticism. One can understand the ambivalent stance politicians and their parties would adopt towards a particular development. As one former prime minister of India pointed out, politics is a game of possibilities and in the arithmetic of votes even if they want to protest against vandalism they remain mute. They certainly do not want to offend prospective electroral partners and this was evident when misguided youths who belonged to a particular party went on a rampage desecrating Rajghat (New Delhi), the final resting place of Mahatma Gandhi, a couple of years ago. How many political parties and their leaders showed courage to condemn this? Very few. They were afraid of offending the leader of the party and lose a prospective coalition partner in the ensuing election. This one can understand and certainly not the muted and half-hearted and ambivalent attitude of some intellectuals who do not show the required courage to call a spade a spade. A piece entitled "Why Ambedkar is a hero and Gandihi is not" by a senior writer in the Pioneer of 29th March appears to be an attempt to confuse by ignoring several important landmarks in the Ganahian Revolution. The writer says the Gandhi's views on varna "precluded Gandhi undertaking radical economic programmes for the uplift of the Untouchables, who formed the bulk of agricultural labour in the villages". He further adds, "The emphasis remained on temple entry and opening of roads and wells to the Untouchables". Well, friend, what you say do not conform to historical facts. Please check them up before sympathising even in the remote manner with those who lead the present tirate against Gandhi.

A look at three important aspects related to the Gandhian initiative might help us appreciate Gandhi's position better. First, Gandhi did not aim at the individual or group mobility but tried to bring in fundamental changes in the attitude of the caste Hindus. Second he campaigned vigorously for the complete absorption of the untouchables in the main fabric of Hinduism by abolishing the very idea of inferiority and superiority. In short what he was aiming at was a complete reconciliation between various sections of Hinduism. A third significant aspect is the much talked about Yarvada Pact through which "atleast one crack in national life was closed in time". Gandhi believed that the British were behind the demand for separate electoral and eventually separate space for the Untouchable as voiced by Ambedkar since Linlighgow's scheme made clear the responsibility of the British to take care of the two minorities, the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes. Gandhi wanted the Indians to decide their future while a section of the British was determined to divide India along caste and religious lines. Gandhi's initiative to remove untouchability, no doubt created an awareness in the masses and at emotional plane he created a favourable atmosphere for the abolition of untouchability. Let it be admitted that thanks to Gandhi both the caste Hindus and untouchables for the first time in Indian History became conscious of the role each has to play in eradicating this inhuman practice. And in doing so Gandhi became a suspect both among the radicals and conservatives. What escaped the attention of the caste Hindus described Gandhi a reactionary and a vocal section of the untouchables who called him a hypocrite and insincere is the fact that the social reformer in Gandhi, the freedom fighter in Gandhi, the visionary in Gandhi did not want further fissures in Indian society along caste lines at a time when the paramount duty was to educate and put pressure on those who were desperately trying tocling to power thus refusing to quit India. Gandhi could visualise what was in store for India if a section of the British were allowed to succeed as they did with the Muslim League. Gandhi's nonviolence has no place for bloodshed. All his strategies were aimed at putting pressure at moral plane. This important fact should not be lost sight of when we reevaluate history. The whole of Gandhi's life is before us like a perennial well and it is upto those who want to draw from it to draw what they need.

Perhaps nobody in India has written, spoken or worked for the removal of untouchability as much as Gandhi. Many of us remember Gandhi's belief that annihilation of caste would be possible only through the removal of untouchability. Well, let us strive towards that direction rather than indulge in mudslinging.

APPENDIX - IV

TECHNOLOGY

- Dr. Bryan Teixeira

It is machinery that has impoverished India......

Machinery is the chief symbol of modern Civilization; it represents a great sin......

Machinery is like a snake hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. Where there is machinery there are large cities; and where there are large cities, there are tram-cars and railways;

and there only does one see electric light......... I cannot recall a single good point in connection with machinery.........

Do not, therefore, forget the main thing. It Is necessary to realize that machinery is bad.

(Gandhi, 1938, pp.93-96)

What distinguished Gandhi from other advocates of growth was his realization that growth along material lines ------ more goods and luxuries enhanced GNP, higher per capita income is any one of many avenues of growth available to human beings.......

What is more, he was convinced that exclusive stress on the material is not only detrimental to our happiness, it is detrimental to our material growth as well.

(Ananthu, 1987, pp.7-9)

In general, Gandhi was very negative towards machinery or what we might today call technology. His negativity stemmed from his insight into technology's underlying values and promised goals. He believed these values and goal were neither indigenous to India nor in India's best favour. In coming to depend on machinery each Indian and all India would lose swaraj.

Gandhi recognized that the logic of technology was the logic of modern civilization. To be committed to technology was to be yoked to centralization and urbanization. This is why he referred to machinery as a snake-hole.

In his own day, the classic example of technology was the railways. Gandhi saw the railways as a primary means by which the English had a hold on India (Gandhi, 1938). The railways were therefore seen as a key medium for allowing modern civilization and its values to permeate and take control of India.

Gandhi had a similar insight into military technology; "to arm India on a large scale is to Europeanize it" (Gandhi, 1938, p. 68). This insight arose as Gandhi considered the various ways of fighting for India's fights. To use a military or violent option against the English would require a huge, well armed, and well trained army. To develop such an army would require adopting the methods and machines of modern civilization fighting the sword with the sword.

Gandhi's approach to the railways and military technology provides two major examples of his distrust of machinery. However it would be inaccurate to think that Gandhi rejected all machinery. He did accept the value of certain types of machinery that were of a more human scale and less destructive of natural processes and patterns. In contemporary jargon, we may say that Gandhi was severely critical of high technology but did allow for some forms of flow or appropriate technology.

Gandhi's major example of this alternative form of machinery was the charka or spinning wheel. Cotton could be home grown and home spun. It was hand made, like traditional pottery. It kept us in contact with nature, like traditional farming practices. Unlike the spead of the railways, it did not rupture the human connection with each other or with the tempo and rhythms of the earth. Gandhi's revolution aimed at self-sufficiency with the help of ecologically sensitive machinery.

Gandhi, therefore, was most critical of the machinery importer into India from Europe. Such machinery evolved out of European values. Adoption of such machinery would therefore require an eventual adherence to the values of modern civilization. And, for Gandhi, modern civilization was inimical not only to Indian independence but more fundamentally to the human spirit.

Instead, he called for forms of machinery that enabled us to maintain a sense of connection to each other and to the natural world. In general, machinery that would be acceptable to a Gandhian evolution would be low or soft, usually of small scale, sustainable, and above all appropriate to spiritual and ecological values.

> A liberatory technology presupposes liberatory institutions; a liberatory sensibility requires a liberatory society... To speak of "appropriate technologies", "convivial tools", and "voluntary simplicity" without radically challenged the political "technologies", the media "tools", and the bureaucratic "complexities" that have turned these concepts into elitist "art forms" is to completely betray their revolutionary promise as a challenge to the existing social structure.
>
> (Bookchin, 1982, p.243)

Gandhi's critique of high technology is as to the point today as it was in 1908. In fact, his message is even more urgently needed.

We live in a world that is experiencing massive technological growth, although much of it is still based in and oriented to the industrialised countries. Information and communications technologies are rewiring how we use data New materials, such as metals and alloys and new life forms, such as high-yield seeds, are being introduced. Nuclear technology is expanding. Space technology is helping us to know more about the earth and its atmosphere.

These technological advances also have menacing aspects. While the evolutionary process prepares a context, for a new life form over a relatively long period of time, several new crop strains and biological variations have been introduced in recent times. The long term safe disposal of waste by products from the nuclear industry continues to be an unresolved issue. And the testing of space-based weapons had left a potentially dangerous legacy of orbiting debris, e.g., shrapnel, dead satellites, empty fuel tanks, rocket pieces.

The most significant technological activity continues to occur in the field of arms production and research. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reported that worldwide military spending in 1989 of US $ 950 billion represented a decline of 2% (Ploughshares, 1990). This decline still means an approximate daily expenditure of US $ 26 billion.

In the research and development field globally, weapons research continues to dominate. About 75% of such military spending occurs in industrialized nations, consuming limited global supplies of capital, skills, and raw materials. Less industrialized countries are being sucked into this high technology vortex.

For example, India is fast emerging as a global military power. Preparing itself to fit into a world where super powers are nuclear weapons' powers, India has assembled all the necessary nuclear weapons components. Such technological might is seen as the necessary route to long over due geopolitical significance. In the process, the Mahatma's country has also become the world's largest arms importer with the world's fourth largest armed forces' (Munro, 1989). To-day it has tested nuclear weapons.

Millions of Indians do not have access to adequate drinking water or health care. The initial success of the Green Revolution is being challenged by problems related to decreasing crop strains and increasing usage of specific fertilizers and pesticides. Yet India is spending billions of dollars on high technology hunter-killer submarines, supersonic fighter-bombers, rockets, and other military hardware.

As Gandhi foresaw, technologization requires urbanization. Industrialization is a centripetal force. It is estimated that by the year 2000, almost 50% of the world will live in urban areas (WCED 1989). Surviving rural areas will be increasingly dominated by the urban-technological system.

Projections are that urbanization will be most keenly felt in the developing countries. Rural failure will mean more villagers are drawn to the city by the illusory promise of a bitter life. Illegal urban settlements will increase. Overcrowding, pollution, and disease will result.

This scenario is quite frightening. Our common future (WCED, 1989) notes:

Few city governments in the developing world have the power, resources, and trained staff to provide their rapidly growing populations with the land, services, and facilities needed for an adequate human life: clean water, sanitation schools and transport. (p. 238)

It is increasingly popular to suggest that these difficulties are a result of improper planning, e.g., unbridled industrial development or uncoordinated urban/rural development. If technologization and the related urbanization had been properly planned, the current major global problems could have been avoided. At least, the problems would not be as extreme. The solution, therefore, is a matter of beginning to plan now.

Gandhi would not necessarily disagree with the need for planning and a comprehensive approach to development. However, he would probably still point out that the inherent values of high technologization are essentially at odds with a truly humane and ecological way of life. He would argue for a new approach to development, not only in less industrialized countries but everywhere.

This notion of survival economy based on relative regional self-sufficiency, community development, and environmental integrity has much to say about the future of the industrial world a well. It's time to explore a range of non-destructive technologies and decentralized economies as an alternative to the insecurity produced by an unsustainable political economy of waste.

(Swift, 1990, p.17).

"Small is beautiful". With this sentence, Schumacser called for and popularized a technology of a more human scale. Smallness alone, however is no guarantee against dehumanization or centralization. what are the values essential to the development of ethical or responsible technologies we develop and use are truly appropriate?

In Gandhian terms, the most important values are those that enable us to recognize our oneness and motivate us to a loving response to all beings. Without rediscovering these values, it is unlikely that humans will be able to develop and consistently apply more responsible technologies. These values, however, are in opposition to modern civilization and its main offspring high technology.

A Gandhian strategy for confronting technology would therefore have to include an analysis of the alienating effects and especially the underlying assumptions of high technology. In brief people need to start with a social analysis that raises the level of their consciousness beyond propaganda. The myth of modern civilization as the pinnacle of human socio economic progress has to be challenged.

In the West, this process will necessarily include a review of Hebraic-Christian anthropocentism. Modern Western civilization is imbued with the belief in a hierarchy of creation, that humans are the zenith of all life forms, and that all that exists is for the use of humans. Some argue that this belief is already a corruption of Hebraic Christian wisdom. Nevertheless, this belief is strong. It was embellished over centuries so that "humans" were equated with Christian European men. A sophisticated weapons technology was eventually developed to ensure that these humans could exercise their presumed divine right to all they wanted touse wherever they voyaged around the globe.

High technology is an end product of this way of seeing the earth as a vast storehouse almost exclusively at the disposal of certain humans. High technology enables us to extract as much as we want as quickly as we want it. Little attention need be paid to the distinction between need and greed: Little care need be taken about how we go about extracting what we want or about the impacts of this process on Nature or even on other humans.

Unfortunately, the elitist assumptions of modern civilization are growing in attractiveness to certain non-Europeans. There are individuals around the world who seem more willing to live from greed than need. Gandhi recognized a similar situation when he pointed out that Britain held power in India because it was in the financial interests of certain Indians. Modern civilization therefore continues to grow as an option espoused by wealthy nations or by the wealthy within less industrialized nations.

A Gandhian approach to technology would begin from a revised view of who we are and our place as one human species sharing the earth with each other and many other life forms. This suggests the possibility of technologies that are ecologically responsible.

Ecologically responsible technologies would be low technologies. They would be relatively easy to use. They would tend to be labour rather than capital intensive. They would be more decentralized in communities rather than centralized in large factories or megam[illegible]. They would allow for

individual creativity rather than emphasize mass production. They would allow for re-connections between producer and consumer, agriculture and industry. The would provide durable products rather than plan for quick obsolescence and waste.

However unless new technologies emerge from a new understanding of the world and our place in it, even the best low technologies will eventually be coopted by modern civilization. The challeage is therefore not simply one of developing alternative technologies. Rather, it is a matter of resisting the quickening erosion of the human spirit and the sense of our connection to all creation.

A purely technical orientation toward organic gardening, solar and wind energy devices, aquaculture, holistic health, and the like would still retain the incubus of instrumental rationality that threatens our very capacity to develop an ecological sensibility. An environmentalistic technocracy is hierarchy draped in green garments; hence it is all the more insidious because it is camouflaged in the color of ecology.

(Bookchin, 1982, p.314).

O my beloved earth
how can they say you are without a soul
when you breathe
and writhe and bear me
without life
when you change
and age and die with me
daily?"

APPENDIX - V

PATRIARCHY

- Dr. Bryan Telxeira

Looking at Gandhi I see that he did not renounce his male privilege. He traveled without his family whenever he felt like it, leaving his children to the care of his wife. He sometimes ignored his family's need for security, for attention and for physical affection. He took advantage of his authority as head of the household and as decision maker. For example, after 23 years of marriage to Kasturbai Gandhi announced to her that he was becoming celibtate.... If Gandhi had needed more of the truth Kasturbai had to offer, he might have earned that our bodies are gifts not hindrances.

(Costello, 1982, pp.178-79)

Without a doubt, Gandhi was concerned about the role of women in India. He opposed child marriage, enforced widowhood, wife beating and sati. He repudiated his own youthful physical and verbal abuse of Kasturbai. He recognized the significant role played by women in various satyagraha campaigns.

Gandhi also advocated "perfect chastity" or bramacharya for his satyagrahis. This applied to married and unmarried satyagrahie alike. He assumed the former could have no desire for progeny. His own decision to practice chastity seemed to have little to do with what Kasturbai, his wife, may or may not have wanted. Later in life to test his commitment to this ideal, he slept with young women. It is debateable to what extent Gandhi took the interests of these young women into account as he pursued his own experiments in sexuality.

Gandhi unsettled certain aspects of male-female sexual politics. Unlike his criticism of civilization, however, he did not attempt a radical review of ideologies about human sexuality and sexual relationships. It was not that he was unaware of the need to go further. Rather, having accepted what he assumed to be the necessity of chastity, he was not quite sure how to proceed. "How is one to carry one's wife with one, what are her rights..?" (1938, p.85). Nevertheless, he assumed these puzzles would eventually be clarified.

Sexuality was not an easy issue for Gandhi. This is clear from stories he told about three instances of contact with prostitutes. Prior to these incidents, he had considered it shameful even to sit near such a woman. He talked about trembling on entering a brothel and being unable to look the prostitute in the face.

On the second of these occasions, with the help of a friend, he recalled a promise to his mother and fled. Escaping from his lust was experienced as salvation : "For me, this was an occasion when I first became aware of the existence of God" (1980, p. 41). He believed that this experience was the most perilous of his life. Had it not been for his escape, he believed he would not have become a satyagrahi, or fought for untouchables.

In his personal life, Gandhi invested sex with enormous power, the power of spiritual death (Kakar, 1989). This power was opposed to that of God. No doubt, part of this analysis arises from patriarchal assumptions inherent in certain Indian traditions. However some of it is clearly also a matter of Gandhi's own unresolved emotional turmoil about his own sexual desires.

It would be anachronistic to argue that Gandhi was against sexism. Despite being a revolutionary, he was still a product of his own era. He also had his own psychological limitations. Yet he did make the struggle for women's rights central to swaraj. And this set his followers on the path to contemporary feminist analysis and the challenging of patriarchy.

> Nowhere in the world is the continuum between restriction of choice and outright physical compulsion more dramatically exposed than in India.
>
> (Hartman, 1987, p.237)

In contemporary India, child and other forms of enforced marriage continue. The abortion of female fetuses and female infanticide assist in making India the only country with a decreasing ratio of women to men. Thousands of dowry murders are reported annually. Sati is once again on the rise. Old myths still live; the husband is god, and the wife is mother and partner in ritual. Female sexuality is projected onto the prostitute. Sexually transmitted diseases [illegible] major communicable diseases (after malaria and tuberculosis). The film industry primarily portrays infantile or sado-

mosochistic views of sexuality. And all this despite the example of the father of that Nation and the illegality of some these practices.

This continuing situation suggests little change in India's patriarchal ideology: the rule of the fathers' or (older) males is still dominated. Much the same can be said for North America and most of the world: old patriarchal myths or masculinity (and femininity) still dominate.

There are atleast two major touchstones for measuring the strength of patriarchy in a society: the extent to which women bear the costs (as opposed to sharing in the benefits) of the society, and the attitude towards homosexuality. This is because the benefits of a male dominated society flow primarily to males while the costs disproportionately weigh on women and children in general, and also on those men and women whose sexual orientation is seen as undermining male privilege.

Men own most of the land and earn most of the money in the world. It is therefore convenient to deal with land and income scarcity not by addressing issues of redistribution by males targeting the female reproductive system as the key source of poverty and hunger. Curbing assumed female-generated overpopulation emerge as a primary societal strategy. Coincidently, the need for fundamental social change is avoided.

In North America as in India, female sterilization is among the most widely used form of birth control. The prevalence of such an irreversible surgical method suggests the unequal status of women compared to men in society. In India, women also receive a government incentive for this operation of about $ 25. Men who choose sterilization receive a lesser incentive of about $ 15.

Abortion is another widespread surgical response to unwanted pregnancy. Even though this is a legal option for many women, it often requires finances and types of access not easily available to large numbers of women. As a result the majority of abortions in India and probably elsewhere continue to be performed illegally.

Most recently, women in India and North America are beginning to use injectable contraceptives. These contraceptives involve the slow release of a hormone over about 5 years. The hormone is contained in soft, tiny tubes implanted under a woman's skin, most often the upper arm. This method is supposed to be reversible, cheaper than contraceptive pills, and with minimal side effects. No similar method has yet been developed for men.

Despite the fact that condoms are among the cheapest and least dangerous of contraceptive methods, there has been a wide spread bias against this method. Unlike practically all other methods, its focus is the male reproductive system This bias is only recently beginning to change.

Along with women therefore children whose full humanity is denied by male dominated societies are homosexual men and women. By their very existence, these individual challenge the patriarchal and heterosexist definition of male and female identity, coupling, and family. Like women they are second class citizens, or less.

Certain forms of early India eunuchism may have functioned to give a degree of social approval to homosexual activities. In the West such social approval is also evident in aboriginal European and North American peoples prior to the full emergence of Christianity and its version of civilization. In both contexts, however, as male domination increased, homosexual activities became not only punishable but illegal.

Historically, homosexual activity in India could result in fines, heatings, head shavings, or dismemberment (Parrinder, 1980). In the West, at least 2 major examples of persecution exist. Around the time of the Inquisition up to 9 million women were murdered as "witches" many of whom were burned alive along with an unidentified number of homosexual men who conveniently served as, "faggots" for the pyres. And unknown thousands of homosexual man and women were marked with pink triangles and shared the ovens with other individuals considered undesirable by Nazi patriarchy.

Perhaps one of the biggest crises currently facing patriarchy is the global AIDS epidemic. It is becoming clearer that an efficient and early response to AIDS is severely hampered by patriarchal attitudes and practices. Where male privileges makes condom use unacceptable, where female sexuality is misunderstood, where homosexuality is denied where drug addicts are considered expendable, where the health and safety of heterosexual males is primary, the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) has found a fertile ground.

Although a relatively small number of people have been known to die of AIDS in India, over 4.000 individuals are to known be infected. About 25% of these individuals live in Bombay where it is estimated that upto 30% of that city's 100,00 female and male prostitutes are also infected. In the USA the number of death went from 0 to 100,000 in 10 years. Over a similar time period, 5% to 30% of the populations of some sub-Saharan countries have also been infected. It is till too early to say how the infection rate will develop in India: it is already known to be high in urbanized states, especially in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.

Were Gandhi alive today, it can be hoped that his critique of modern civilization would have grown to include feminist critique, particularly of the myth of overpopulation. He would have become more informed about human sexuality. His commitment to the liberation of women - female swaraj - would have expanded and deepened. He would have rethought the place of homo-sexual individuals within society - homosexual swaraj. Were Gandhi alive today, he would know the significance of combatting AIDS for Hind swaraj.

The solution to the population problem lies not in the diminution of right, but in their expansion. This is because the population problem is not really about a surplus of human numbers, but a lack of basic rights. Too many people have too little access to resources. Too many women have too little control over their own reproduction. Rapid population growth is not the cause of under development; it is a symptom of the slow pace of social reform.

(Hartman, 1987, p.33)

The widespread prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases, the fact that more than half the patients at public STD clinics are married men, and that around 10 per cent are estimated to be male students who will go on to marry, raise the question of beliefs about and attitudes towards sex in Indian society.

(Ramasubban, 1990, p.10)

To be genuine, Swaraj cannot be for some only; it must be to all. Either all people are equally respected or no one is fully respected. Either women, children and homosexual individuals are all treated as "children of God" or Swaraj is still a long way off. Gandhi fought untouchability as a concept that gave more value to one person than another. This concept offenended his experience of God and of the oneness of humanity. Those who attempt to achieve Gandhi's dream need the same commitment to reject male domination and to insist on the equality of all persons.

A Gandhian response to the current ravages of patriarchy in India would include 3 emphases; socio-economic development, sex education, and responsible action on AIDS.

Instead of supporting the myth of overpopulation with its resulting penalization of women and children, a contemporary Gandhian strategy would continue to emphasize other factors. The seats of power would be shared between men and women. Gandhian and development organizations would have a primary responsibility in modeling such a power redistribution; moving from mala dominated gerontocracise to egalitarian structures. Other factors in a development paradigm include income and land redistribution, effective employment security, mass education and literacy and women's development.

The over population scenario represents a male agenda for women's bodies. A development emphasis would therefore insist on models of family planning that improve women's health and control ever reproduction. The need for large families is higher where socioeconomic development is weak. Where development is strong - where individuals and communities experience an increase in personal and political power - people are more likely to choose rather than be forced into small families.

Much of the world is also rethinking its understanding of human sexuality. Many historical streams have brought us to this point, e.g., the growth in psychological and biological sciences, the emergence of more effective contraceptive technologies, and the global movements for women's liberation and more recently for gay (homosexual) liberation. Internationally, patriarchal mythologies and definitions of masculinity and femininity are being profoundly challenged.

While being concerned about some socio-political inequalities between men and women. Gandhi's response to conflicts in the area of sexuality did not profoundly challenge patriarchal myths. As a result, his fundamental recommendation in this area was desexualization by bramacharya (Kakar, 1989). This response is unrealistic and increasingly unsatisfactory. Similar to the critique of socio-economic arrangements in Hind Swaraj, a thorough going critique is now required of the patriarchal roots of such arrangements. Sex education and feminist analysis provide us with just such a critique.

A lack of sex education is obvious in the way the body and especially sexual activity have been mystified. A lack of understanding about our bodies and of human sexuality is a significant part of what keeps men and women heterosexual and homosexual apart and in conflict, unable to move more creatively towards full equality. Comprehensive education in this area would therefore not only focus on basic information but also on issues like contraception, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and the range of sexual orientations along the heterosexual along the homosexual continuum.

Finally, and specific to AIDS, Ramasubban (1990) points out that the key to the fight against AIDS in India (as in much of the world) is behaviour change relative to high risk activities and emphasizing public health. Behaviour change would focus on anti-STD information and condom use. This approach would need to be supplemented by public health policy and action that supports health workers, quality control in blood banking, and the eradication of those social conditions that contribute to communicable diseases.

Contemporary Gandhians can base a commitment to the equality of all people, men and women, children and adults, hetero-sexual and homosexual, on Gandhi's rejection of untouchability and his struggles for women's rights In the late 20th century, however, we need to go beyond Gandhi in our critique of patriarchy just be supplemented by public health policy and action that as he went beyond the philosophical and political assumptions of his own day.

Even though women in India legally are as strong as men, in practice, they are weak in many respects. Manu, the lawgiver of the old Hindu society, said, "Women cannot and should never be left to her own devices; she has to be always dependent .... as a child upon the father, as a wife upon the husband, as a widow upon the son. "Nobody may willingly accept Manu at present in this respect.

(Gurusamy, 1987, p.98).

slowly sneaking up on one another

cautious

step right

step left

*Pardon me" when we bump

touching hands

smiles

then slowly catching the music

and shedding our skins

as we dance

just like we've always wanted to.

APPENDIX - VI

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

Dr. Bryan Teixeira

If the Hindus believe thai India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in a dream-land. The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsis and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow-countrymen, and they will have to live in unity, if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India. (Gandhi, 1938, p.49).

Gandhi was aware that the British were able to take and hold India because Indians were divided. Hindus and Muslems were "at daggers drawn" (Gandhi, 1938, p. 39). Intolerance between these two major religions left India vulnerable and disunited. In so far as many Hindus and Muslems had common ancestors, their enmity was also suicidal. The British capitalized on this situation using a colonial strategy going back to the ancient Romans: divide et impera. Religious intolerance clearly undermined progress towards Swaraj.

In one section of Hind Swaraj, Gandhi focused Hindu-Muslem intolerance on the issue of respect for the cow. Gandhi saw the cow as a symbol of India's agricultural heritage. Her milk and energy represent the bountifulness of Nature. Hindu and Muslem would agree about the usefulness of the cow. In theory, however, a crucial difference between these two religions may be represented in their attitudes to whether the cow should be protected or not. Yet, in fact, many Hindus ate meat and therefore not followers of the ahimsa that supposely separated them from Muslems.

"But just as I respect the cow, so do I respect my fellowmen" (p.50). Standing firmly on his commitment to ahimsa, Gandhi insisted that the option of flighting with or killing a Muslem in order to save a cow was not open to a satyagrah. The disciple of ahimsa may try to pursuade an opponent by a variety of means including self sacrifice. But killing one being in order to save another was not an option.

Gandhi placed the blame for the conflict between Hindu and Muslem on two major groups of people; selfish and false religious teachers, and the British. The former began tha process; the latter put the finishing touches.

Gandhi believed that all faiths are imperfect and fallible revelations of Truth. When humans speake of their experience of the Truth they necessarily speak imperfectly. Those who interpret this speech also interpret imperfectly. This realization should not lead to indifference to one's faith but to a more inteligent and loving acceptance of it. It should lead to a willingness to integrate into one's faith acceptable features of other faith. Gandhi believed all religions were equal.

Although Gandhi was a Hindu, he believed that there were verses of scriputres that were indefensible and ought to be rejected. He considered it superstituous and stupid to think otherwise.

One of Gandhi's key interpretive principles was, "reject everything be it in the Vedas, the Puranas, of any other religious book - that is in our view inconsistent, with truth or is likely to encourage vice" (1980, p. 87) remembering that Gandhi's Truth was non-dualistic, what was most to be rejected was anything that encouraged hatred or Ahimsa.

However, certain religious teachers - the majority of whom probably were males representing patriarchal assumptions - did not teach that the Koran contains passages acceptable to Hindus. They did not similarly teach that the Bhagavadgita contains passages acceptable to Muslems. They emphasized what was unclear or unacceptable. The fact, however, that there were passages in each text that were unclear or unacceptable to an individual from the other religion was for Gandhi insufficient reason for fellow Indians to be in conflict. Encouraging such conflict rather than building up the unity of all Indian peoples could, in Gandhi's mind, only be a result of selfishness and falsehood.

As has been their pattern of colonization in other countries the British played on this heritage of distrust. Their occupation undermined whatever peace had been arrived at under variations in Hindu and Muslem rule in India. It was Gandhi's analysis that fighting recommenced with the advent of the British.

Gandhi's understanding of the two main roots of religious intolerance in India - hypocritical teachers and greedy British - was incisive. His commitment to eradicate British rule as the mutual enemy of Hindu and Muslem was clear and relatively successful. The need to have teachers of religious tolerance continues.

Gandhi yearned for a unified and truly Indian nation. It was logical, then, that he grew to oppose English as India's universal a language. His proposal to replace English with Hindi, however, was as problematic in his own tune as it is today. Where the imposition of Hindi does not represent a specifically religious intolerance it may represent cultural intolerance.

> Today, humans are divided by a battle for power. Those who fear the unpredictable, who hate change, who have nothing to learn because they already know the Truth, grow increasingly terrified as the social tremors increase and the familiar structure begins to break apart. And thus they must have power, for only power can ensure them control over those who would act unpredictably.
>
> (Hutchinson, 1990, p.103).

Communal violence is as alive in India today as it ever was. Conflicts range across religious and cultural lines. Central to many of these conflicts is the continuing problem of Hindu-Muslem relations. However, other tension points have also emerged. It is an open question whether or not India will survive as one country.

The partition of 1947 did not result a neat separation of Hindus and Muslems. Almost as many Muslems now live in India as in all of Pakistan. India and Pakistan have already engaged in three wars against each other. In 1990, a fourth began smouldering. Pakistan supported Muslim guerillas in

Kashmir and seemed prepared to use nuclear weapons against India. India responded by supporting separatists in Pakistan's Sind province. This war continues to be held in check by a number of influences, including American pressure on both parties.

India is undergoing other powerful stresses, more or less related to religious conflict. In the Punjab, Sikhs are demanding a separate state, Khalistan. The shape of historic discontent in Tamil Nadu has recently been impacted by Buddhist-Hindu or Sinhalese-Tamil violence in Sri Lanka. Separatist struggles also continue in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Manipur, Nagaland, and Tripura with varying degrees of inter-religious strife.

Simultaneously with these legional separatist mevements, and similar to the current situation of revival among many other religious traditions around the world, right wing Hinduism is on the rise. Supporters of this movement take a fundamentalist approach to Hinduism. They emphasize Hindu nationalism and oppose India's Constitutional secularism. They call for a Ram Raj that is significantly different from the one proposed by Gandhi.

As with most contemporary fundamentalism, the Hindu right wants to acquire political power. A community of faith is not enough. In fact, a fundamentalist understanding of true belief requires achieving a situation where belief can be imposed on the unbeliever. After all, fundamentalism is about certainty. Such a sense of certainty is, however, clearly contrary to Gandhi's sense of the distinction between Truth and religion. It is also at odds with the diversity witnessed in millenia of Hindu thought and practice.

The stresses of separatism and fundamentalism are not peculiar to India: they are felt in many other countries. In Canada, separatism is becoming an increasingly possible option for the francophone majority of Quebec. The history of this conflict is also one of strife between a largely Protestant anglophone Canada and Roman Catholic francophone Quebec. The Soviet Union dissolved as its states voted to become independent. A revival of ethnic and religious conflicts is a foot. Similar movements, with varying degrees of religious motivation, exist on every continent.

Throughout North America, especially in the USA, varieties of Christian fundamentalism are becoming stronger. Their political influence is felt in their right wing philosophies and in their funding or other support for like-minded politicians. These American fundamentalists have exported their message to less industrialized countries, including the Philippines, and parts of Latin America, Africa, and the Caribbean.

Alongwith Islamic revival has emerged varieties of Islamic fundamentalism. Shirite Islamic fundamentalism is evident in Iran and the continuing legacy of Khomeini. Sunni fundamentalism is particularly evident in the militant outgrowths of the Islamic Brotherhoods in Egypt and Syria.

Beneath much of this religious turmoil is a recognition that the promises of modern civilization have failed, And the situation is likely to worsen. This shared analysis explains the wedding of separatism and fundamentalism in some parts of the world. This analysis is not unlike that made by Gandhi several decades ago. Unlike Gandhi, however, some separatist movements are drawing on

terrorism and ethnocentrism to create their alternatives. And many fundamentalists are adopting authoritarian stances: they elaborate and impose their myths and practices of an assumed golden past as the truth for all.

The power of these movements is based on many factors. Among the most important factors are their emergence from a community with shared religious or cultural values, their aura of certainty, and their socio-political agenda. In times of discontent and to people who increasingly sense their oppression, they propose a formula for personal and political swaraj. Their formula is on many crucial points, however, at odds with Gandhi's nonviolent vision and strategies.

> If we reject fundamentalism we must do so with a politics that allows room for our humour and imagination.... In the place of a failed modernity we must put not "the way" and "the road" but many ways and many roads; different ways of working and organizing economies, different designs for community and public lifedifferent kinds of caring and loving - in short, different ways of iving.
>
> (Swift, 1990, p.6).

Imperialism is not only the offshoot of modern civilization. Societies are also driven to imperialism by religious intolerance. Such intolerance tends towards authoritarianism in politics and in scriptural interpretation. Much of the growth of religious intolerance and related movements can be understood as an attempt to replace one imperialism with another; to fight the sword with the Sword.

Gandhian alternatives point in other directions. Gandhi believed it was possible and necessary to love one's own religion and culture while at the same time denying them any claim to absolute truth. Despite his admiration for aspects of various other religions, he remained a proud Hindu throughout his life.

Gandhi also respected the beliefs and practices of other religions, even when contrary to his own. He believed all religions were equal: none were superior to another. And he believed in stopping short of violence in redressing conflict between fellow human beings. His approach would seem to be essential for living together harmoniously in the current multicultural, multiracial, and multifaith global village.

Arguments for an open and tolerant perspective can be found in all religions, primarily in their mystical or spiritual (as distinct from strictly theological or dogmatic) teachers.

Hinduism includes many at times opposing philosophies some theistic and others atheistic. Varieties of Hindu devotion are as numerous as the gods carved on temple towers. In Islam, Suf gentleness and universalism is directly inspired by the life of The Prophet Muhammad. Badshah Khan, a close associate of Gandhi was a prime example of tolerant and nonviolent Islamic practice. (Easwaran, 1984). Contemporary Christians can take their cue from the likes of the Society of Friends (Quakers), the techings of Thomas Merton, or Raimundo Panikkar. Similar source of inter-religious openness can be found in other faiths.

Such openness can lead beyond tolerance to inter-religious dialogue. Dialogue is the context in which believers of varying faiths can share their experience and understanding of the Truth. It is a context of learning to appreciate other faiths and of developing a deeper love of one's own. Through dialogue believers of varying faiths can work together for a more just world.

Gandhi certainty practised a dialogue of prayer, study and action. In India and elsewhere the World Council of Churches continues to foster a dialogue of talking, working, living and celebrating together; a dialogue with people of living faiths (Ariarajah, 1989, p.254). Such approaches to dialogue not oniy facilitate religious tolerance but also increase neighbourliness in a common struggle for a more just world. Unfortunately, dialogue is still too often popularly identified as the discussion of ideas within the domain of academics and intellectuals.

For Gandhi, religious tolerance which issues in authentic dialogue was essential to Swaraj. Religious intolerance, on the other hand, worked against the movement towards swaraj. He saw intolerance as the product of selfish and false teachers. Further more, it was based on the same code as colonial imperialism; "divide and conquer". It therefore eroded the unity of a people and forestalled their progress towards swaraj.

An intolerant religion is very unlikely to produce a future of social renewal and liberation for the people it oppresses. It is in addition, equally unlikely to produce such a future for its own adherents. Either we progress together or we do not progress.